

APR 18 1936

# The Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND  
SOUTH WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW  
ENGLAND AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XXXI

MAY, 1936

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PRINTED BY  
GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY  
MENASHA, WISCONSIN

# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the coöperation of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States  
Publication Office: 480 Ahnaip St., Menasha, Wis.

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL is printed monthly except in July, August, and September by The George Banta Publishing Company, 480 Ahnaip St., Menasha, Wis. The subscription price is \$2.50 per year; the price of single copies is 30 cents. Orders for service of less than a year will be charged at the single-copy rate. Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Bolivia, Colombia, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Samoa Islands, Shanghai. For all other countries in the Postal Union an extra charge of 25 cents is made on annual subscriptions (total \$3.75), on single copies 5 cents (total 35 cents).

The membership fee in each of the associations named above is \$2.00 a year, with addition of 25 cents a year for Canadian members, for postage. This fee includes subscription to the JOURNAL at a special rate.

Twenty-five reprints are furnished free to the authors of major articles, book reviews, and notes. Additional reprints, if ordered in advance, are supplied at cost. Orders for additional reprints should accompany the corrected proof.

Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at Menasha, Wis., on October 19, 1934. Additional entry as second-class matter at Ann Arbor, Mich., under Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on October 19, 1934.

# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XXXI

MAY, 1936

NUMBER 8

## THE ATTITUDE OF THE ROMANS TOWARD PEACE AND WAR<sup>1</sup>

By DORRANCE STINCHFIELD WHITE  
University of Iowa

Multos castra iuvant . . . . .  
. . . . . bellaque matribus  
detestata . . . . .

Horace, *Carm.* I, 1, 23-25.

A few years ago the world was greeted with this interesting statement, made by a descendant of the ancient Romans, the much publicized Benito Mussolini:

The instinct of war is in human nature . . . and to this fact which might justify war only as a fatality must be added another, which makes us love it, that war is one of the most fruitful mystic manifestations. Like a storm that relieves and refreshes nature when it is charged with electricity and full of bad vapors, war comes and stirs up in society and in man the putrid sediment of hatred accumulated by the competitions, the base calculations, and beastly habits of the world. It arouses in a soft and sleepy individual mind those flying energies which without war only the privileged person knows who lives the life of thought and dreams. It is creative of new values, a sower of seeds. War that brings grief to hearts otherwise closed, that leads to risks and abysses, that puts death before all our eyes, is the great revealer of the most jealously hidden truths. For only at the sight of death does the soul of man go deep and awake in its simplest essence. . . . War is justice, nobility, and brotherly pity.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Delivered at the University of Iowa celebration of the *Bimillennium Horatianum* and Eighteenth Annual Conference of the Classical Teachers of Iowa, and broadcast over WSUI.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in the Des Moines (Iowa) *Register*, editorial comment, October 18, 1935.

If I had found this statement in the work of an ancient Roman philosopher or historian, I should pronounce it the desperation of a mad consul or emperor who had nothing to offer his people but the glamour of war. But thus far I have been unable to find in any piece of Latin literature, not even in the most extravagant philosophy of the Greek epic, the equal of this utterance of Mussolini's.

What a eulogy of war! Does this modern Roman think that he is expressing the sentiment of his more illustrious ancestors? Does he think that this *bellum Romanum* is a worthy match of the *pax Romana* instituted by the great Caesar Augustus? The cultured world that visits Italy and Rome is grateful to Mussolini for the widened and beautified streets, for the excavations in, and adjacent to, the ancient Forum, for his reverence for Roman antiquities, and for his zeal for arousing in his people pride in the ancient Roman glory. But this pronouncement on war—this is the mad philosophy of moderns. Is its author not the brother to Count Moltke? who says:

Perpetual peace is a dream, and it is not even a beautiful dream. War is an element in the order of the world ordained by God. . . . Without war the world would stagnate and lose itself in materialism.<sup>3</sup>

Is he not close kin to the German philosopher, Nietzsche? who reasons thus:

It is mere illusion and pretty sentiment to expect much (even anything at all) from mankind if it forgets how to make war. As yet no means are known which call so much into action as a great war, that rough energy born of the camp, that deep impersonality born of hatred, that conscience born of murder and cold-bloodedness, that fervor born of effort in the annihilation of the enemy, that proud indifference to loss, to one's own existence, to that of one's fellows, that earthquake-like soul-shaking which a people needs when it is losing its vitality.<sup>4</sup>

Or it is possible that in his cleverness he perceives what Gibbon expresses in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> From his famous letter to Bluntschli. For a similar view cp. Ernest Renan, *La Reforme Intellectuelle et Morale*: Paris, Lévy (1871), 111.

<sup>4</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, *Human All-Too Human*<sup>3</sup>: London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. (1924), Vol. vi, Pt. 1, p. 349.

<sup>5</sup> The Modern Library: New York, H. Wolff (1935), I, 6.

As long as mankind shall continue to bestow more liberal applause on their destroyers than on their benefactors, the thirst of military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted characters.

Madman, "ordained of God" to purge his nation stagnated and lost in materialism, a "rough energy born of the camp," or simply exalted character and egotist—whatever Mussolini is, we are compelled to deny this pugnacious Italian the claim that it was from the spirit of the ancient Romans that he received the legacy, this startling philosophy of war.

Did the ancient Romans glorify war? Did Mr. Average Roman feel that it was the natural lot of man to be in a state of war? And did he offer no outcry against it? The history of Rome, you say, is largely a succession of wars. We shall readily grant that to the casual reader of Roman history the Romans seemed to be interminably involved in war. But consider our own English and American history. Not many years ago teachers made a definite move to eliminate the excessive recounting of war and in its place to hold up to youth the constructive achievements of peace. Moreover, compare the record of the ancient Romans with that of modern nations. From the institution of the Republic in 509 B.C. until the beginning of the decline of the Roman Empire near the end of the second century A.D., there were approximately 700 years. During this time Rome fought some twenty major wars, or an average of one every thirty-five years. During our own brief life of 160 years since the founding of the American republic, we have fought at least five major conflicts, which gives us an average of one every thirty years. On that basis we are more warlike than the Romans. But, you insist, they were in constant conflict with their neighbors until they dominated every tribe on the Italian peninsula. And what is our record? We, by both conflict and intrigue, and not in defense, appropriated a whole continent! And if one should wish to amuse himself by searching the records of European countries over a period of the past seven hundred years, he would find that ancient Rome stands well up toward the front as a keeper of the peace.

It is true that poets and orators rave about the conquests of Roman arms, the irresistible sweep of the Roman fleets, and the

pride and pomp of the triumphal procession as it made its way to the Capitoline Hill, "whilst thou, Messala," so Tibullus sings (I, 7, 7), "wearing the conqueror's bays, wast borne in ivory car by steeds of shining white."<sup>6</sup> But this is the praise of triumph, not war. When Tibullus sings the praises of Messala who is surer than all in the arts of war (III, 7), his praise of war is the praise of a commander's bravery and skill rather than of war itself. Horace admits that many people rejoice in camp life and wars that mothers hate (*Carm.* I, 1, 23), but he confesses that he threw away his shield at the battle of Philippi and ran with all his might (*Carm.* II, 9f.). The other fellow might properly and even gloriously die for his country; Horace wished to live to sing the hero's praises. Again, when Vergil makes Aeneas, in defense of his household gods, rush into the thick of the fray, his hero expresses the same sentiment (*Aen.* II, 317); but as for war, Vergil sets it as the curse which dooms his hero to traverse for seven years the treacherous seas, the object of a goddess' hate.

On the other hand, writers of both prose and verse say much about the horror of war. Horace's *bellaque matribus detestata* shows how closely war touched the home. With him war is also *tearful*<sup>7</sup> and *dismal*.<sup>8</sup> To both Horace and Catullus war is *tedious*.<sup>9</sup> Vergil calls it the *death-bearer*,<sup>10</sup> *stern*,<sup>11</sup> *frenzied*,<sup>12</sup> *accursed*,<sup>13</sup> *wicked*,<sup>14</sup> *stubborn*,<sup>15</sup> *maddening*.<sup>16</sup> He links together the frenzy of war and the passion for gain.<sup>17</sup> He makes Evander say at the funeral of his son, "O cruel schooling in close-neighboring war!"<sup>18</sup> Ovid sings that before the Iron Age,

not yet were cities begirt with steep moats; there were no trumpets of straight, no horns of curving brass, no swords or helmets. There was no need at all of armed men, for nations, secure from war's alarms passed the years in gentle ease.<sup>19</sup> (Tr. of F. J. Miller in Loeb Classical Library.)

But now when baneful iron had come, and gold more baneful than iron,

<sup>6</sup> Translation of J. P. Postgate (The Loeb Classical Library): Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1919). <sup>7</sup> *Carm.* I, 21, 13.

<sup>8</sup> *Carm.* II, 1, 33.

<sup>9</sup> *Hor. Epist.* I, 2, 7; *Cat.* LXIV, 345.

<sup>10</sup> *Aen.* VI, 279.

<sup>11</sup> *Aen.* I, 14.

<sup>12</sup> *Aen.* VIII, 327; also VII, 461.

<sup>13</sup> *Aen.* VII, 461.

<sup>14</sup> *Aen.* VII, 439.

<sup>15</sup> *Aen.* X, 146.

<sup>16</sup> *Aen.* VII, 550.

<sup>17</sup> *Aen.* VIII, 327.

<sup>18</sup> *Aen.* XI, 156.

<sup>19</sup> *Met.* I, 97-100.

war came, which fights with both, and brandished in its bloody hands the clashing arms. Men lived on plunder. Guest was not safe from host, nor father-in-law from son-in-law; even among brothers 'twas rare to find affection. The husband longed for the death of his wife, she of her husband; murderous stepmothers brewed deadly poisons, and sons inquired into their fathers' years before the time. Piety lay vanquished, and the maiden Astraea, last of the immortals, abandoned the blood-soaked earth.<sup>20</sup> (Tr. of F. J. Miller in Loeb Classical Library.)

Horace flayed Rome's enemies as he gloried in the might of Augustus. But even when calling the Parthians liars<sup>21</sup> and wishing upon Parthian and Briton the plague and famine that might touch Augustus,<sup>22</sup> he breathes forth in his poems the joys and contentment of the fireside that is only safe in the reign of peace. For Horace was essentially a man of peace. "O Jupiter, sire and king," he sings, "let perish with rust the discarded weapon, and let no man injure me, a lover of peace!"<sup>23</sup>

Horace associated Faith, Honor, ancient Modesty, and neglected and blessed Plenty with Peace.<sup>24</sup> These things, he says, have come to bless the Roman people as a result of Augustus' domestic and foreign policies. This theme is everywhere prevalent, but is particularly well expressed in the following:

And what the glorious scion of Anchises and of Venus with sacrifice of milk-white steers entreats of you, that may he [Augustus] obtain, triumphant o'er the warring foe, but generous to the fallen.<sup>25</sup> (Tr. of C. E. Bennett in Loeb Classical Library.)

Horace may have read Vergil's precept, cast in a similar vein and written two years before, when the Mantuan, granting to others, meaning the Greeks, supremacy in sculpture, oratory, and astronomy, warns the Roman of his day:

Remember thou, O Roman, to rule the nations with thy sway—these are thine arts—to impose the practice of peace, to spare the humbled and tame in war the proud.<sup>26</sup>

Propertius, like Horace, likes to sing the might and majesty of Rome's sway:

<sup>20</sup> *Met.* i, 141-150.

<sup>21</sup> *Sat.* ii, 1, 42-44.

<sup>22</sup> *Carm. Saec.* 49-52.

<sup>23</sup> *Epist.* ii, 1, 112.

<sup>24</sup> *Carm. Saec.* 57-60.

<sup>25</sup> *Aen.* vi, 851-53.

<sup>26</sup> *Carm.* i, 21, 15

Nay, even India, Augustus, bows her neck to grace thy triumph and the house of virgin Arabia trembles before thee, and if there be any land withdrawn upon earth's farthest rim, captured hereafter let it feel thy mighty hand.<sup>27</sup> (Tr. of H. E. Butler in Loeb Classical Library.)

However we may interpret the utterance of a poet on the subject of peace and war, we may, perhaps, agree with Tenney Frank,<sup>28</sup> who ventures the guess that "the phrases caught up and passed on by Horace (and other poets) were, in the main, the thoughtless expressions of a hero-worshipping people who had fallen into the habit since Caesar's day of expecting success in arms. Poets, like the rabble, found military victories easy to estimate and praise." Propertius in almost the same breath assures us,

This is Caesar's claim to virtue, this Caesar's claim to glory; the hand that conquered sheathed the sword in peace.<sup>29</sup>

The Roman poet recognized the facts of war and faced its grim realities. But Calliope, Propertius declares,<sup>30</sup> bids him be not concerned to write martial verse nor stain Aonia's grove with war. He shall not care where the Romans are fighting to beat back the Teutons' power "nor where the wild Rhine . . . bears mangled bodies down to sorrowing waves." Love, he says, is a god of peace;<sup>31</sup> "we lovers worship peace." "Away with the man," he demands,<sup>32</sup> "who keeps Phoebus tarrying among the weapons of war!" Hence, if a poet's attitude on political and national matters is interpretable, the Roman poets are decidedly men of peace.

It is perhaps to the prose writer that we should concede greater weight as to what the average Roman felt toward peace and war. "Considering what has happened and is likely to happen," wrote Cicero<sup>33</sup> to Atticus in 49 B.C., "I want my views on peace published. And when I exhorted Caesar of all men to seek peace, I had no readier argument than to say that peace became a man of his wisdom." And again in the same year he writes to Caesar that he had always advocated peace with Pompey and the Senate and had never taken any part in the Civil War:<sup>34</sup>

<sup>27</sup> II, 10, 15-18. <sup>28</sup> *Roman Imperialism*: New York, The Macmillan Co. (1914), 349.

<sup>29</sup> II, 16, 41 f. <sup>30</sup> III, 3, 37-46. <sup>31</sup> III, 5, 1. <sup>32</sup> III, 1, 7.

<sup>33</sup> *Ad Atticum* VIII, 9, 1. Tr. of E. O. Winstedt in Loeb Classical Library.

<sup>34</sup> *Ad Atticum* IX, 11A. Tr. of E. O. Winstedt in Loeb Classical Library.

My hopes led me to think that a man of your admirable statesmanship would wish to act for the comfort, peace, and agreement of the citizens. . . . I have always advocated peace both with Pompey and the Senate ever since I have been able to do so, nor since the outbreak of hostilities have I taken any part in the war; I have considered that the war was attacking your rights in that envious and hostile persons were opposing a distinction conferred on you by the grace of the Roman people. . . . To my mind it touches your honor and the public weal that I, a friend of peace and of both of you, should be so supported by you that I may be able to work for peace between you and peace amongst our fellow-citizens.

In a letter to Caelius he would like the world to realize that his one dominant desire was for peace. "When there was no hope for peace," he writes,<sup>35</sup>

there was nothing I so persistently avoided as civil arms. My consistent conduct in this respect I think I shall never have reason to regret. Indeed I remember that, in discussing such matters, it was the frequent boast of my dear friend, Quintus Hortensius, that he had never taken part in civil warfare.

And writing to one of the most able and gifted men of his day, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, Cicero commends him for being a champion of peace both during and after his consulship.<sup>36</sup> That a civil war was a terrible calamity can be seen in Cicero's remark to Tiro<sup>37</sup> that "the worst of all miseries is a civil war."

How, you ask, can the author of the *Defense of the Manilian Law* rightfully call himself a man of peace? My answer is that Cicero the orator, like Horace the poet, had his moments when emotional appeal served better than matter-of-fact truth. The prestige of his nation, glorious in the time of the Italian and Punic wars, was at stake. This prestige, he implies throughout his oration, has kept the foreign foe awestruck and at peace. For a people eager for praise and glory beyond other nations,<sup>38</sup> this prestige must be preserved. And Cicero, the man of peace but not the pacifist, rattles the sword in praise of Roman arms. But now, he implies, Rome's pacifism and indifference to foreign insolence has reached the point where her ambassadors, who had always enjoyed, by the law of nations, every protection at home and abroad,

<sup>35</sup> *Ad Fam.* II, 16, 3. Tr. of W. Glynn Williams in Loeb Classical Library.

<sup>36</sup> *Ad Fam.* IV, 1, 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Ad Fam.* XVI, 12, 2.

<sup>38</sup> III, 7.

are now permitted to suffer humiliation and even torturesome death.<sup>39</sup> To insure peaceful foreign relations, Rome, he suggests, must have generals like Pompey, a man of such gentleness that it is difficult to say whether the enemy feared more his courage when facing him in battle than they loved his clemency when bowed before him in defeat.<sup>40</sup> The Roman army must preserve peace. Its leaders must emulate Pompey and be men of such gracious spirit that that nation would feel itself most blessed within whose borders the Roman general tarried longest.<sup>41</sup> Whether this be oratorical hyperbole or genuine attitude toward peace and war, the author of this great oration was neither pacifist nor Jingo. Had there existed in his day what we recognize as diplomacy, he would have been first to sponsor a peace conference and devise a substitute for war.

Lack of time prevents me from analyzing the numerous instances during the Republic when, as Livy shows,<sup>42</sup> the impression, even among foreign nations, was that Rome never undertook a war without a just cause for doing so. For example, after the Macedonian War Rome undertook to punish certain Greek states who had aided Perseus of Macedonia. Rhodes was punished because she had endeavored to remain neutral. Rhodian envoys, protesting at Rome, are quoted by Livy as follows:

You are in truth the same Romans who boast that your wars are successful because they are just, who glory not so much in the issue of them, in that you conquer, as in the commencement of them, in that you do not undertake them without a just cause.<sup>43</sup>

It was this feeling of the Romans that war should be conducted according to law—*iure belli, iure gentium*, terms that Livy and other historians use so frequently—that convinces us that it was the spirit of the Romans, in the main, to prosecute war as humanely as possible. It is not easy to detect any marked progress during the long struggle for security and independence in the Italian peninsula, and retaliation was often prompted by the cruelties practiced by the Carthaginians during the Punic Wars,

<sup>39</sup> v, 11.<sup>40</sup> xiv, 42.<sup>41</sup> v, 13.<sup>42</sup> xlv, 22.<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Trans. of Coleman Phillipson, *The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome*: New York, MacMillan Company (1911), II, 182.

but the religious principle that underlay the function of the fetial institution seems to have combined with the Romans' idea of the orderly procedure of law to make the Romans slow to declare war and quick to accept the plea for mercy.

The fetials were a semi-political, priestly board whose province was to

supervise the rites peculiar to the declaration of war and the swearing of treaties, and which formed, as it were, a court of first instance in such questions of international disputes as the proper treatment of envoys and the execution of extradition. When any complaint arose that a neighboring tribe had committed an act of war, it was the duty of this board to investigate the matter for the senate, and, if it found the complaint just, to send its herald to the offending state with a demand for restitution. His formula, as Livy tells us,<sup>44</sup> reads as follows: "If I unjustly or impiously demand that the aforesaid offenders be surrendered, then permit me not to return to my country." If restitution was not made, a respite of thirty days was given, after which the herald notified the offending state that force would be used, employing the following formula: "Hear me, Jupiter and Quirinus, and all other gods, I call you to witness that this nation is unjust and does not duly practice righteousness; and our elders will consider by what measures we may secure our dues." The same fetial board supervised the rites of treaty-making at the conclusion of wars, using the following forms of oath: "If the Roman people break this treaty, then do thou, Jupiter, so strike down the Roman people as I now strike this pig, and so much harder as thou art stronger."<sup>45</sup>

The religious nature of the early Romans' declaration of war and treaty-making is significant. I believe that the army was inspired to greater enthusiasm and self-confidence by the belief that the gods favored their cause. And the people at home would accept with greater resignation the restrictions and privations of the conflict. Numerous citations from Polybius, Appian, and Livy seem to confirm this belief. It will have to suffice us, however, to say that the fetial institution, with its strong religious significance, demonstrated, as Scullard has said,<sup>46</sup> that the

normal international status between Rome and her neighbors was peace, not war, and that Roman custom did not recognize an aggressive spirit or territorial covetousness as legitimate causes for war: a custom which arose, less

<sup>44</sup> I, 32, 7.

<sup>45</sup> I, 24, 8. Tenney Frank, *op. cit.*, 8.

<sup>46</sup> Howard H. Scullard, *History of the Roman World*: London, Methuen & Co. (1935), 46.

perhaps from moral scruples than from an inherent desire for law and order and from a clear recognition of the value of peace.

Tenney Frank has said of the fetial institution:

It had a profound influence upon Rome's international dealings, for it encouraged a calm deliberateness of action and spread the respect of Rome's word, two factors which combined to make Rome's organizing power irresistible.<sup>47</sup>

To this "calm deliberateness of action" before plunging their state into war and to this practice of adhering strictly to the rules of war should be added an insistence on the part of the Romans that other nations should be equally faithful. I do not mean to imply that Rome never broke a treaty when it was particularly advantageous to do so, or that she always refrained from inventing subterfuges for nullifying an agreement that violated her sense of national honor; to wit, the questionable circumvention of the army's obligation by agreement with the Sabines at the Caudine Pass. But when she drew up a formal treaty she meant to keep it and insisted that the other state do so too. Appian affords us an excellent example,<sup>48</sup> which, incidentally, may be compared to the Washington Conference of 1922, when, as you remember, the signatory nations agreed to sink a proportionate tonnage of battleships. Back in 190 B.C., after the battle of Magnesia, as a result of a conference between Romans and Syrians, a treaty was drawn up which stipulated the reduction of certain war material, including a number of Syrian war-elephants. King Antiochus failed to carry out the terms and the Romans compelled him to burn a number of warships and to dispose in some way of the designated number of elephants. Compare this Roman aliveness to treaty stipulations to our own hesitancy even to reprimand Japan for her abrogation of the Washington 5-5-3 treaty ratio.

Lack of time compels me to leave unmentioned the numerous treaties struck by the Romans, their provisions, and their marked similarity to modern treaties. One might dwell at length upon that sense of national honor possessed by Rome as a result of which she would often keep the terms of a treaty even when they

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.*, 10.

<sup>48</sup> xi, 8, 46.

worked to her disadvantage. This certainly is an expression of Rome's attitude toward, and recognition of, the blessings of peace. One treaty, however, should be cited both for its antiquity and for its modernity. It is the *Foedus Cassianum*, struck in 493 B.C. between the Romans and thirty cities of the Latin League, and recorded on a bronze pillar at Rome. Two of its five provisions declared<sup>49</sup>

that there shall be peace between the Romans and all the Latin cities so long as the heavens and the earth shall remain in the same position.

That they shall not make war, nor cause war to be made against each other, nor permit each other's enemies to pass through their respective territories.

Compare with this the Locarno Pact of 1925, which reposes at Geneva, the chief article of which is that the contracting parties, Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, and Italy, undertake "that they will in no case attack or invade each other," and which Italy, on the date on which we utter these words, is threatening to violate almost in its entirety. And Il Duce, who threatens to attack one or all of these signatories for thwarting his expansion policy of 1935, loudly boasts of Augustus as his prototype, whose bimillennium in 1937 he hopes to celebrate.

It is a matter of history that the foreign policy of Octavian Augustus was one of extreme conservatism. He, like Tacitus in his *Histories*<sup>50</sup> and Secretary Dern in his Armistice Day speech three years ago at the grave of The Unknown Soldier, recognized that both vanquished and victor lose; that no one wins a war; that all is loss. His timidity, perhaps, was due to the fact that, unlike his more ambitious uncle, Julius Caesar, he was not a great military leader. But he brought the Roman State out of civil strife into a form of government that attained a prestige among foreign nations for benevolent despotism that the state perhaps never after was able to equal. In that record of his stewardship to the Roman People, the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, he said:

Under my principate numerous other races, with whom before that time there had existed no bond of diplomacy or friendship, have made trial of the good faith of the Roman People.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus. vi, 95.

<sup>50</sup> II, 45.

<sup>51</sup> E. G. Hardy, *The Monumentum Ancyranum*: New York, Oxford University Press (1923), 148.

He reminds his people that

Whereas our ancestors have willed that the gateway of Janus Quirinus should be shut whenever victorious peace is secured by land and sea throughout the Empire of the Roman People, and whereas before my birth twice only in all is it on record that the gateway has been shut, three times under my principate has the senate decreed that it should be shut.<sup>52</sup>

In another place Augustus states that Parthians and Medes, with whom the Romans had been in constant conflict over the exploitation of Armenia and Asia Minor, sent to him of their own free will the nobles of their own race as ambassadors to assure him of their friendship and desire for peace and to place their children of noble rank as hostages to guarantee the keeping of the peace treaty. This remarkable document bears convincing proof of the fact that in his public utterances Augustus accepted the customary point of view and made his list of victories as imposing as possible. He was always careful, however, to insist that he had never been the aggressor—or as he puts it, *nulli genti bello per iniuriam inlato*.<sup>53</sup>

I shall be charged, perhaps, with recklessness of interpretation if I have seemed to state too authoritatively the exact attitude of the Romans toward peace and war. There are so many interpretations. Did Horace, for example, laud Roman military dominance in itself, or, although a Republican, was he shrewd enough to perceive that the enforced peace of Augustus was the only peace possible by which to hold in order the polyglot Mediterranean peoples? Professor Frank suggests that the phrases on the subject of war are "thoughtless expressions of a hero-worshipping people." Horace's eulogy of Augustus<sup>54</sup> is an illustration of this:

When I wished to sing of fights and cities won, Apollo checked me, striking loud his lyre, and forbade my spreading tiny sails upon the Tuscan Sea. Thy age, O Caesar, has restored to farms their plenteous crops and to our Jove the standards stript from the proud columns of the Parthians; has closed Quirinus' fane empty of war; has put a check on license, passing righteous bounds; has banished crime and called back home the ancient ways whereby the Latin name and might of Italy waxed great, and the fame and majesty of our dominion were spread from the sun's western bed to his arising. (Tr. of C. E. Bennett in Loeb Classical Library.)

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 117. Cf. Tenney Frank, *op. cit.*, 10.

<sup>54</sup> *Carm.* iv, 15, 1-16.

Sympathy for this view would be held by Sir Norman Angell who, in a recent speech over the radio, advocated either surrendering armed defense altogether or making armed defense collective to preserve the peace of the world.

However much Augustus emphasized the blessing of peace, the problem of how to avert war under their system of government plagued the Romans after the passing of their emperor. Tiberius, declared Tacitus,<sup>55</sup> "showed more pleasure at having kept the peace by diplomacy than if he had concluded a war by a series of stricken fields." And "nothing gave him so much anxiety as that settlements once made should not be disturbed. He chose a centurion to notify kings that there must be no appeal to arms."<sup>56</sup> Tacitus makes a German potentate, whom he calls "a huge figure dauntless in the recollection of treaties honorably kept," say that

from the moment when the deified Augustus made me a Roman citizen I have chosen my friends and my enemies with a view to your [the Romans'] interests, not from hatred of my own country . . . but because I took the advantage of Rome and Germany to be one, and peace a better thing than war.<sup>57</sup>

The exaltation of peace did not begin with Woodrow Wilson, or with David Starr Jordan, or with Tolstoi, or with the Socialists, or with the Communists, or with Grotius, or with Gentili, or with any other person or corporate body of modern times. It even antedates Egyptian kings and well-greaved Achaeans with glancing helms. Tinctured early with the spirit of religious scruples—the Roman *religio*—the peace treaty violated was an offense to the gods. Rarely, either when Rome was in her period of greatest expansion or when fighting barbaric hordes with her back to the wall, was the treaty a scrap of paper. Cato made the senate halls ring with *delenda est Carthago* throughout his life. But it was fifty years after the Second Punic War before the military party at Rome could invent sufficiently plausible grounds for razing Rome's powerful commercial rival. And then it was the violation of a treaty that they used as pretext. So deeply must the idea have been implanted in the Roman mind that a treaty was a sacred obligation that nowhere have I been able to find in the remarks

<sup>55</sup> *Ann.* II, 64.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>57</sup> *Ann.* I, 58.

of poet, orator, historian, or philosopher any sentiment such as Mussolini's, that war was considered an ennobling human experience. It is rather that of Ibáñez, that war is Conquest, Strife, Famine, Death; not "one of the most fruitful mystic manifestations," but wasting debaucheries of the soul.

How will Mussolini's people face the charge of flagrant violation of treaty pledges? Can they accept the unheard challenge of their ancestors that they join all nations in that exacting ideal of each his brother's keeper? Unless they can do that, it is difficult to see how they can justly claim to have stepped up through the generations to a more civilized plane than that on which stood their ancestral fetial priest, the *Pater Patratus*, who, at the conclusion of the treaty rites chanted in solemn tones: "If the Roman people break this treaty, then do thou, Jupiter, so strike down the Roman people as I now strike this pig, and so much harder as thou art stronger."<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Livy 1, 24, 8.

## GOVERNMENT RELIEF DURING THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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Among the several ills that beset the Roman Empire it is customary to include the depopulation of Italy and the destitution among the few remaining Italian farmers. Many of these farmers were desperately in need of securing some sort of loan in order to salvage their small freeholds for yet a while longer; and such loans were increasingly difficult to secure even at an exorbitant rate of interest. Only a few freeholders had managed to keep their precarious footing of economic and political freedom in the midst of the long strain that Italian farming had been undergoing since at least the Punic wars. Families had been broken up or had been enslaved for debt, or had disappeared. In the Italian peninsula were many destitute children. Some of our sources for the second and third centuries of our era trace the outline of a novel system of economic relief which attempted to alleviate at once the depopulation of the Italian farm lands and the destitution of these needy children. Nor did the utilitarian motive entirely eclipse the humanitarian.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some treatment of this phase of economic relief by the government will be found in the following references: Ernest Desjardins, "Alimentation," in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*: Paris, Hachette et Cie. (1877) (a bibliography is given); Ernest Desjardins, "Les Antonines d'après les Documents l'Épigraphiques," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vi (1<sup>re</sup> Décembre, 1874); Johannes Justus Esser, *De Pauperum Cura apud Romanos*: Academia Libera Reformata Campis apud Ph. Salzman (1902); Wolfgang Helbig, *Guide to Public Collections of Classical Antiquities in Rome*, Translated by J. F. and Findlay Muirhead: Leipzig, Karl Baedeker (1896); W. Kubitschek, "Alimenta," Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*: Stuttgart, J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung; Roger Lagrange, *Droit Romain de l'Assistance Publique à Rome*: Paris, Henri Jouve (1891); Joachim Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung, Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*, v Bd., von J. Marquardt und T. Mommsen: Leipzig, Verlag von S. Hirzel (1884);

The *Historia Augusta* says that in the course of the celebrations of the Persian victory Alexander Severus (222–235 A.D.) followed Antoninus Pius in granting the aid of the imperial government to certain destitute children who were to be named in honor of his mother Mamaea.<sup>2</sup> Other references also from the *Historia Augusta* connect Antoninus Pius with the institution which the slightly obscure wording of the former reference would seem to indicate. Yet it would appear from still other passages in the same source that even emperors earlier than Antoninus Pius—e.g. Trajan and Hadrian—were concerned with the same system. These assertions can now be checked for reliability and given a more adequate appreciation by the study (1) of some legal material from the Justinian Codex, (2) of the coins of the emperors of this span of history, and (3) of certain extant inscriptions from Italy.<sup>3</sup> In this way one may not only find references to government relief as an officially established fact, but may also learn of the government officials who participated in the administration of this charitable aid.

From the inscriptions<sup>4</sup> one learns that Antoninus Pius estab-

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Seth William Stevenson, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins*, completed by Frederic N. Madden: London, George Bell and Sons (1889); Mary Gilmore Williams, "Studies in the Lives of Roman Empresses: Julia Mamaea," in *Roman Historical Sources and Institutions*, in University of Michigan Studies (Humanistic Series), 1: New York, Macmillan Co. (1904). To supplement the brief treatment given the subject in these references one must refer directly to the scattered material in the legal, epigraphic, and numismatic sources. As will be seen, the present study is indebted to all these books of reference and all of these sources for suggestions or for basic materials.

<sup>2</sup> "Vita Alexandri Severi," 57, 7 of *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. E. Hohl, 2 vols.: Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri (1927).

<sup>3</sup> These consist of two tablets, of both of which good reproductions may be found in Desjardins, *Disputatio Hist. de Tabulis Alimentariis*: Paris (1854). The best text of the second tablet, from near Naples, is published by Mommsen, *Inscript. Regni Neapolit. Latinae*: Lipsiae (1852). Since both of these references are usually not accessible to the general reader, the texts of both may be more conveniently studied in the *C.I.L.* xi, 1147 for the Velleia inscription, and *C.I.L.* ix, 1455 for the *Ligures Baebiani* inscription.

<sup>4</sup> Helbig, *Guide to Class. Antiq.*, II, 736–737; Henry Cohen, *Description Historique des Monnaies Frappées sous l'Empire Romain*:<sup>2</sup> Paris (1884), II, 2, 33, Nos. 261–263; Nos. 107–108. Desjardins, in his *De Tabulis Alimentariis* 29 (especially notes 1, 2) provides not only the references for technical textual study of these inscriptions but reproduces one of the well-known important inscriptions: *Imp. Caesari Divi Antonini Pii Filio Divi Hadriani Nepoti Divi Traiani Parthici Pronepoti Divi Nervae . . . Augusto. P.M. Tr. Pot. XVI Cos. III Optimo et Indulgentissimo Principi Pueri et Puellae Alimentari Ficolensium* (Orelli, No. 3364.)

lished what were apparently annual grants of either grain or money for certain girls who were called in honor of his wife, Faustina, *Puellae Faustinianae*. More or less the same imperial grants were made by Marcus Aurelius in 164 A.D., upon the marriage of his daughter, and in 175 A.D., upon the death of his wife. Usually both mother and daughter figure in the numismatic representations as "Demeter" and "Ceres," pouring what seems to be grain into the lap of a young girl. As in the reign of Antoninus Pius, these girls who received the governmental relief are called *Puellae Faustinianae* after the younger Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius. From such terminology in the inscriptions and from the pictorial representations upon the coins it would indeed be difficult wholly to understand the nature and the scope of the government relief provided for these girls. At first glance one might assume that they indicated mere distributions of money or of grain as largess, either regularly or irregularly. In addition, only girls might seem to have received help. Yet the latter hypothesis is probably not tenable. Other inscriptions of the reign of Antoninus Pius use a term that would indicate at once that both girls and boys were given aid and that possibly something other than a yearly donation was provided for them. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IX, 5700 (= Orelli, 89), for example, speaks of *alimentarii* under Antoninus Pius.<sup>5</sup> Under Nerva and Trajan, and particularly under Trajan alone, this term is frequently met, sometimes without the accompanying word *pueri* or *puellae*, sometimes with it.<sup>6</sup> Trajan seems to have commemorated the institution on certain of his coins,<sup>7</sup> which bear a picture almost identical

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also *C.I.L.* XI, 2, 6002 (= Orelli, 847); Gruterus, p. 1022, 6; *C.I.L.* XIV, 4003 (= Orelli, 3364). The latter has been cited in n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> The authority for this is some material that is seldom easily accessible; e.g., Henzen, *Bullet. dell' Instit.* (1872), 273 ff. Cf. Jordan, *Topog. d. Stadt Rom*, I, 2, 219 ff., table IV, 1. Others refer these notices of charities to Hadrian's reign. Cf. Marquardt, *Stv.*, II, 2, 143, n. 2 *et al.*; *C.I.L.* IX, 1455, notes.

<sup>7</sup> Probably also on the arch of Beneventum. Cf. Desjardins, *op. cit.*, *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, 655; Kubitschek, s.v. "Alimenta" in *Real-Encyclopädie*, I, 1485. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.* 143, n. 2; Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum* VI, 407, 408. On these coins the emperor is shown extending his hand to a young boy and a young girl who are being presented to him by a woman. The reverse features the aforementioned legend, *Alim. Ital.* Note also Cohen, *op. cit.*, II, "Trajan," Nos. 7, 14, 15, 16, 17, 102, and also *ibid.*,

with that which appears upon the coins of Antoninus Pius and of Marcus Aurelius referred to above. On one of the medals of Alexander Severus<sup>8</sup> likewise we see before him the seated emperor, with a woman standing and four children, who seem to be receiving something from him. Beside the emperor are Mamaea, the young emperor's mother, who was continuously treated with deep respect, and Minerva, both of whom seem to be interested in the emperor's action. Yet in two ways this medal does not definitely copy the earlier representations; for although the picture representing the bounty is so similar in all the cases named that one might conclude that all of them commemorate the same sort of institution, and although the inscriptions and coins of Trajan show that the word *puellae* is probably to be understood to have some form of the technical word *alimentarii* with it, still the aforementioned *Historia Augusta* records only that Alexander Severus established *puellas Mamaeas*; i.e., no statement regarding an alimentation system is precisely made in this connection, even as the aforementioned coin of this same emperor lacks the legend *Alim. Ital.*, which appears precisely on Trajan's coins.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, it seems only reasonable to accept the view that the writer of the particular item of the biography in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* meant to say (however unprecise his statement may today seem under analysis) that Alexander Severus, like several of the Antonines or "good emperors," whom it was his habit to follow as precedents and worthy models, tried to reëstab-

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No. 179, where the forms used vary considerably. Note Kubitschek, in *Real-Encyclopädie*, I, 1486.

<sup>8</sup> Cohen, iv, 489, Mamée, No. 1; cf. Nos. 5, 6. Another coin (*ibid.*, 488, Orbiana, No. 8) figuring Orbiana (Alexander's wife for a brief time), a cornucopia, some children, and the goddess Fecundity, would seem no less to refer to Alexander's care for child welfare of some sort. Most scholars, however, seem to disregard this coin as evidence for the particular sort of technical welfare institution of which this paper treats for no better reason, it would seem, than the evidence of the biography in the *Historia Augusta*. They are, then, accepting at face value, though unproved, the dating of Alexander's form of the institution as late in the reign merely because the biographer of Alexander Severus says so, and are disregarding the testimony of this and other similar coins which are definitely known to be dated early in Alexander's reign.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also Esser, *op. cit.*, No. 203 f. Lagrange, *op. cit.*, No 106; cf. also Cohen, II, 2, p. 18 f., Nos. 7-19; p. 37, No. 179; p. 51 f., Nos. 326-327.

lish, upon the occasion of a certain celebration, a definite and well-known institution of regular aid for destitute children of Italy.

Nor are we today in doubt about some of the main outlines of the system of alimentary aid given. Besides the brief inscriptions already mentioned, which merely establish the fact of the existence of some such institution, stones have been discovered that give some understanding of the system established under Trajan which served as a model for the charity relief of at least several of the later emperors.<sup>10</sup>

The emperor, it appears, loaned out to the farmers of a certain region a sum of money upon which only a small rate of interest was charged. Thus from the contracts of Velleia one learns that certain farmers there, whose names and securities (the farm lands specified in the tablets at a certain valuation) are recorded, were to receive from the emperor those mortgage loans which they needed but could otherwise secure only with difficulty, even at an exorbitant rate of interest. We might cite as a typical example just one (that of C. Volumnius Memior and his wife) of the fifty or more individual mortgage contracts that are recorded in the eleven-page (in small capitals) reproduction of the original Velleia inscriptions in the *Corpus*:

C. Volumnius Memior et Volumnia Alce per Volum[um] Diadumenum libertum suum, professi sunt fundum Quintiacum Aurelianum, collem muletatem cum silvis, qui est in Veleiate, pago Ambitrebio; adfinibus Marco Mommeio Persieo, Satrio Severo et populo, HS  $\overline{\text{CVIII}}$ . Accipere debet  $\overline{\text{VIII}\delta\text{CLXXXII}}$  sestertium N. et fundum<sup>11</sup> suprascriptum obligare.

In the locality considered, 1,044,000 sesterces were let out at about 5 per cent.<sup>12</sup> This amount was to be returned, not to the emperor

<sup>10</sup> The existence of this particular institution is usually considered to be proved for no later than the third century. Cf. Esser, *De Pauperum Cura*, 207; Hirschfeld, *Rom. Verw.*, I, 122, n. 2. However (see below), if not this system, at least something very like it seems from the legal sources to have existed in the following century. Desjardins, *Dict. des Antiq.*, I, 184; Kubitschek, s.v. "Alimenta," *Real-Encyclopädie*, I, 1485. An interesting very early example of somewhat the same institution is met as early as the first century of our era. See footnote 15, *infra*.

<sup>11</sup> Col. 1 of the Velleia Inscript. Cf. *C.I.L.* XI, 1147; Desjardins, *De Alim.*, 34-35; *ibid.*, Reprod. v.

<sup>12</sup> The contract from south Italy (near Beneventum), where the land was, as Desjardins points out, less rich, provides for interest at only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Cf. "Les Antonines

in either small or gross payments, but to the local municipalities in annual payments. These formed a fund or treasury, from which alimentary aid was regularly supplied according to law<sup>13</sup> to a stipulated number of destitute, free-born boys and girls. Thus in one given community (Velleia) about two hundred and forty-five boys and thirty-four girls and one illegitimate boy and one girl, all below the ages of eighteen and fourteen respectively, were to receive at least the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter, sixteen sesterces per month being allowed as cost thereof for each legitimate boy and twelve per month for each legitimate girl, while the illegitimate boy and girl specified in the particular contract of Velleia were to receive yearly for their support one hundred and forty-four sesterces and one hundred and twenty sesterces respectively.<sup>14</sup> Grain, oil, clothing, and housing within private families were to be guaranteed by the municipality to the specified number of destitute children. Although governmental officials had general supervision of the system, no central or governmental charity home was set up, into which these children were gathered. They were left in private homes to spend the last years of childhood in at least some economic security.

Such interest on the part of these several emperors in the relief of hard-pressed small landholders in Italy was, indeed, expressed in a practical, business-like manner rather than in the form of spectacular donations. Moreover, the interest in the aid of desti-

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d'après les Documents Épigraphiques," *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1<sup>er</sup> Décembre, 1874), vi, 651. This rate Desjardins contrasts with that of commercial interest at the time, which was at least 12 per cent. Desjardins, in his earlier disputation about the tablets, has drawn up tabulations of the information and the terms thereof. Cf. *De Alim.*, LXV ff. for the *Ligures Baebianorum* tables; XLIII for the tabulation of the Velleia materials.

<sup>13</sup> Or, as it reads, for example, in *C.I.L.* xi, 1147: obligatio praediorum ob HS deciens quadraginta quattuor milia, ut ex indulgentia optimi maxime principis Imp. Caes. Nervae Traiani Aug. Germanici Dacici pueri puellaeque alimenta accipiant, legitimi n(umero) CCXLV in singulos . . .

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *C.I.L.* xi, 1147 for the text of the Velleia contracts. Translation of the opening parts of these Velleia contracts is provided by Desjardins, *op. cit.*, 650-651. Cf. also his discussion in *Dict. des Antiq.*, i, 183-184. Desjardins' earlier and more detailed discussion of the tablets, their geographical terminology, their information, their interpretation, etc., including as it does the aforementioned reproductions of both lengthy inscriptions in complete and also in tabulated form is usually inaccessible. A part of the opening text is reproduced by Kubitschek in *Real-Encycl.*, i, 1487.

tute children is perfectly in accord with the interest shown by private individuals. Numberless examples of private benevolences occur in the Antonine period. Both emperors and private individuals, of whom Pliny is but one example, left bequests of funds for child welfare, in accord with a perceptibly growing humanitarian concern and generosity.<sup>15</sup> In the confusion in the latter half of the third century this public and private philanthropy was of course submerged, but not permanently. For in 315 Constantine decreed<sup>16</sup> that bronze tablets set up in all Italian cities as well as in Africa should announce that children were to be properly reared, even if parents were in extreme poverty: they were to be provided with clothing and food by funds furnished from the *fiscus* or from the *patrimonium*. At this time, in contrast to the earlier practice, public hospices for housing orphans and foundlings were erected. To substantially the same problems of relief of the destitute, especially the youthful destitute, the Stoic and Christian philanthropists in the time of Julian turned their attention,<sup>17</sup> although this bifold imperial system of relief is not always employed.

As far as one may judge, the humanitarian aspect of this relief problem especially engaged the attention and stirred the generosity of the public-spirited philanthropists of both the third and fourth centuries. The same recognition of pauperism, particularly among the farmer stock of Italy, the same concern to provide at least the physical essentials of food, clothing, and shelter for the destitute youth of this region, the same generosity in providing income from one's own estate after one's death, or from one's purse, or one's treasury (even at times from the imperial treasuries)—all these would seem to figure alike in the relief measures as recorded in the

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Esser, *De Pauperum Cura*, 223; Desjardins, "Les Antonines d'après les Documents Épig.", *Rev. d. Deux Mondes*, vi (1874), 650; Villemain, *Mélanges*, ii, 279. As examples of such private bequests one might cite *C.I.L.* ix, 1455; xi, 1147; vi, 1492; xiv, 4003; xi, 3825; x, 6310; xi, 5395; Pliny, *Epist.* vii, 18; Orelli, 114; 4365; Henzen, 6669. A first-century notice (*C.I.L.* x, 1, 5056) records that a certain imperial legate bequeathed a thousand sesterces for alimentary aid in his locality.

<sup>16</sup> *Cod. Theod.*, xi, 27, 1.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Epist. ad Arsacem Galat. Pontif.*, p. 429, ed. Spanheim, cited and briefly criticized by Desjardins, *Dict. des Antiq.*, vii, 184; those fourth-century decrees are cited by Desjardins in his *De Alim.*, 32, 33.

sources for the Antonine emperors, Septimius Severus, Alexander Severus, Constantine, and Julian.

In just one aspect does there appear to be a difference in the technique of relief. In the time of the Antonine emperors, and just possibly also in the time of Alexander Severus, the funds to be spent for humanitarian relief seem to have been accumulated in special municipal treasuries from the income from mortgage loans made by the emperor to needy Italian small landholders. There is also, indeed, evidence of imperial aid rendered to children either by the queen mother Mamaea, or by Alexander in her honor, but whether it is in the true form of the alimentation system as established by Nerva and Trajan, elaborated by Trajan, and continued by Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Septimius Severus, there is not indubitable proof.<sup>18</sup> No contracts have been found like those found for Trajan, but this negative evidence does not, of course, disprove the existence of the system, but merely withholds from the wholly probable hypothesis complete acceptance as an historical fact. The excavations so far made have not unearthed such supporting evidence as one would like to

<sup>18</sup> The alimentary system of economic relief is definitely known to have existed before his day and even to have provided him a likely model. Moreover, as has been seen, medals of his reign prove beyond reasonable doubt that some relief was given to children. It is not, however, incontrovertibly substantiated that this relief, though represented on the medals in a manner immediately reminiscent of the system of Trajan, was in the form of that system. Reasonable and probable though this hypothesis is (see text of article, *infra*), certain possible sources of confusion or error should be pointed out. For example, the children receiving the aid under Trajan were occasionally called, it must be mentioned, *pueri puellaeque Ulpiani* (*C.I.L.* xi, 2, 4351; cf. *C.I.L.* x, 6310)—a term that might immediately suggest to an inexact writer the famous jurist Ulpian, who was so closely associated with Alexander and his policies. Besides this, Desjardins asserts (*Dict. des Antiq.*, i, 184) what if true might represent another sign of confusion of terms and people in connection with the alimentary institution. He states that the biography of Severus which we have in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* attributes to Septimius Severus the institution of *Mamaeani pueri puellaeque*,—phraseology suspiciously similar to that of item 57, 7 of *Alexander*. Is it possibly erroneously placed in the latter or the former, or are both placements and both attributions possible? See text of article *infra* for the case with regard to Alexander. It seems, however, that Desjardins' reference to Septimius Severus cannot be located at all either in Lessing's *Lexicon* to the *Scriptores*, or in the biography itself. (Cf. Duruy, *Rom. Hist.* vii, 124, n. 3; Eckhel, *op. cit.*, vii, 226.) Possibly, then, only the other cases need consideration here.

have,<sup>19</sup> but the more thorough archaeological activity of the present and future may unexpectedly find either a municipal contract analogous to the ones found for Trajan's reign, or, more likely, a copy of an imperial rescript ordering the establishment of the institution. Alexander is said to have attempted this form of economic aid only when he was in the midst of the celebration of the official victory (231-232) over the Persians under Artaxerxes (or Ardeshir).<sup>20</sup> This would place the imperial order for relief late in the reign and life of Alexander; for almost immediately after this celebration, preparations were begun for the German expedition, during which the emperor and also the queen mother were massacred, probably early in the year 235. Quite possibly, then, the short interval intervening was inadequate for setting again into operation the whole machinery of the alimentary aid outlined by Trajan. The coins of Alexander Severus recording imperial aid to children may, therefore, either record a sort of largess that is honorary and humanitarian and "occasional"; possibly, in other words, this aid is to be compared to the personal gifts of emperors and private individuals rather than connected with the elaborate economic institution for relief established by Trajan; or these coins may record the official announcement of such economic policy that was for some reason never executed.

While it remains highly probable that Alexander may have cast his program of benevolence<sup>21</sup> in the mold set by the Stoic emperors, whom he confessedly most admired and used as models worthy to be followed; still, until more documentary evidence can be found,

<sup>19</sup> It is interesting to note that broken pieces of the contracts relative to economic relief at Velleia came to light before any such actual town had been unearthed. Desjardins in his article, *Rev. des deux Mondes*, VI, 636 tells of their discovery by the expedition sent out by the Infante of Spain, then Duke of Parma.

<sup>20</sup> *Alex. Sev.*, 57, 7, in *Script. Hist. Aug.* This is, as has been pointed out in a note *supra*, the only evidence whatever for this late a dating for this aid, and seems to be nearly the only evidence that so clearly recalls the regular Antonine alimentary relief by the government.

<sup>21</sup> Desjardins in an early article (1874) raised no question about this, though he cited no authority for it except the statement in the biography. Later treatments of the general subject of Roman charity have followed this pattern, citing merely the same statement at its face value without investigation and without supporting evidence.

it would be too hasty to come to such a conclusion upon nothing more than the evidence of this general probability based upon the rather vague representations of imperial aid furnished by the medals and the questionable statement of the biography. Just possibly, then, the singular Antonine technique of relief extended into the third century.

It is thus worthy of historical note that several second-century emperors and probably a third-century emperor devised, and to some extent executed, an interesting and shrewd bifold policy of land-financing for Italian communities, cleverly combined with humanitarian relief of destitute children in those general localities.

## VISCOUNT MORLEY, LOVER OF THE CLASSICS

By WILLIS A. ELLIS  
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Although Senator Carter Glass of Virginia has ventured a criticism phrased in Latin—*Damnante quod non intelligunt*—my belief is that American statesmen of the present and the recent past have not shown so strong a leaning toward the classics as have their British contemporaries. Two British prime ministers—Gladstone of recent times and Sir Robert Peel of a century ago—were eminent for their love of, and attainments in, the classics. Both led strenuous lives in periods of great political stress, but both managed to find time for culture. With these may fairly be grouped John Morley. Though not a prime minister, he was active for many years in British statesmanship, was the right-hand man of Gladstone, and held important posts, among them that of chief secretary for Ireland, and later for India. Before entering politics he was editor of the *Fortnightly Review*. At the beginning of the World War he retired, at the age of 76, to make way for younger men. A few years before this he had been made a peer, becoming Viscount Morley.

Only recently have I read his *Recollections*, published in 1917 by the Macmillan Company. It is a delightful work, and I regret that I was so slow in getting around to it. In it are revealed his transparent honesty, his modesty, his tolerance, and his broad culture. Besides being familiar, apparently, with every writer of English worth knowing, he seems almost equally at home with the literatures of France, Germany, and Italy. But what brings a responsive thrill is his evident admiration for, and extensive acquaintance with, the Greek and Latin classics. He seems almost steeped in them. There is no parade of learning (I have mentioned his modesty). He does not go out of his way. His references to classical

authors are casual and natural, always to the point, and often illuminating.

Morley was an Oxford man. His father, he tells us, was a country doctor of good repute in his profession, and a born lover of books. He seems to have been self-educated. He taught himself a working knowledge of Latin and French, and Morley for many years possessed the copies of Vergil and Racine that he carried with him as he made calls on his patients.

Morley quotes from, or refers by name to, twenty-six classical authors, twelve Greek and fourteen Latin. Most of them he mentions more than once and some of them many times. The Greeks include the dramatists Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Menander; the historians Herodotus and Thucydides; Plato, Aristotle, and Marcus Aurelius; Homer and Plutarch. The Latin writers quoted are Vergil, Horace, Catullus, Lucretius, and Persius; Caesar, Sallust, and Tacitus; Cicero and Seneca; Pliny, Quintilian, Augustine, and Boethius. There are besides numerous brief quotations, the authors of which he does not take the trouble to mention. Thus he compliments his readers, even if he puzzles them occasionally. Nor does he bother always to translate, though of some of the longer quotations an English rendering is given.

He was on friendly terms with Chamberlain, who sometimes sought to instruct him, through a "pointed homily," on his journalistic duties. On one occasion Morley wrote to Chamberlain: "I fear that I cannot come to dine with you on the 5th . . . I wish I could have come, for one of your drastic desserts like the one you regaled me with last Thursday must, I fancy, be very good for one. So wholesome, even if not very nice to the palate. Such an infallible specific against vanity, undue self-esteem, and the other morbid growths of that queer thing, the human mind. The next morning to restore myself I hastened to read Cicero *De Amicitia*, Seneca *De Ira*, Boethius *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, the demonstration of the Stoics, *Nec injuriam, nec contumeliam accipere sapientem*, and finally some of the lengthier discourses of Mentor to that young ass, Telemachus."<sup>1</sup> (With Morley's other qualities

<sup>1</sup> This and all following quotations from Morley's *Recollections* are made by permission of the Macmillan Company, publishers.

I should have mentioned his humor.) Chamberlain, he tells us, promptly apologized.

He writes of his retiring after a busy day: "I found quick slumber, in the humour of Horace's man, who one day talked mighty business with kings and tetrarchs, and the next day blessed heaven for a modest home, with a table on three legs, only a shell for a salt-cellar, and clothes of ever such coarse stuff, but all that was wanted was to keep the cold away."<sup>2</sup>

In his most strenuous days he found time to take snatches of the classics: "After breakfast, rushed to my study. . . . Looked up the pathetic passage in the *Agamemnon* about the desolation of Menelaus and his halls after the flight of Helen, and found from Milman's graceful rendering that there is an alternative version of ἄτιμος ἀλλ' ἀλοῖδορος.<sup>3</sup> Learnt some lines from the *Supplices* about the burial of the conquered."

On another occasion: "Being lazy, contented myself with learning old odes once more, and the passage from Lucretius, *de formidine divom*."

Again: "Learnt fifty lines from Lucretius. Took me just about half an hour. I can mend this before long. . . . Learnt Catullus's old pretty lines on the death of his mistress's bird."<sup>4</sup>

"Began by fifty lines of Lucretius. Then read about half of Bain's book on the elder Mill. Read diligently," etc., etc.—politics, economics, poetry (Shelley). Lucretius gave him a pretty good start!

He appears to have pursued Lucretius to a finish, for in his second volume he devotes twelve pages to a discussion of his philosophy, with quotations from Euripides and Menander for the sake of comparison.

"Splendid morning. Read Horace's epistle to Tibullus:

qui sapere et fari possit quae sentiat, et cui  
gratia, fama, valetudo contingat abunde,  
et mundus victus, non deficiente crumena?<sup>5</sup>

"In this delicious kind of writing Horace never has been, and I should expect never can be, equalled." And he appends a rendering by Conington, his "old Oxford professor."

<sup>2</sup> *Sat.* i, 3, 12-15.

<sup>4</sup> Catullus iii.

<sup>3</sup> Aeschylus *Ag.* 410-427.

<sup>5</sup> *Epist.* i, 4, 9-11.

"How admirable are Chatham's letters to his nephew! Glad to be reminded by him of Horace's sensible lines:

Et ni  
posces ante diem librum cum lumine, si non  
intendes animum studiis et rebus honestis,  
invidia vel amore vigil torquere."

And the English translation follows.

"Read the parabasis in the *Birds*; the description of Calypso's island; and the ever lovely lament for Hector."

"Learnt some lines of Sophocles about the wheel of fortune, comparing our destinies to the vicissitudes of the moon."

He quotes only the last three of the eight Greek lines, but appends Gilbert Murray's translation of the entire passage:

But my fate, on some throbbing wheel of God,  
Always must rise or fall, and change its being;  
As the Moon's image never two nights long  
May in one station rest; out of the dark  
The young face grows, still lovelier, still more perfect,  
Then, at the noblest of her shining, back  
She melts and comes again to nothingness.

On the eve of a great political battle he says: "Mine was the prayer of the Virgilian sailor in his hour of extremity:

superent quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti!  
extremos pudeat rediisse: hoc vincite, cives,  
et prohibete nefas!"

"Read Butcher on the melancholy of the Greeks for an hour. A famous theme, admirably handled. Recalled the age-worn couplet from the *Iliad*: 'No more piteous breed than man, midst all the things that breathe and creep on earth.'"

"Also the splendid lines of Menander, running to much the same effect as the saying of the poet in the *Anthology*:

ἡδέα μὲν γάρ σου τὰ φύσει καλά, γαῖα, θάλασσα,  
ἄστρο, σεληναίης κύκλα καὶ ἡλίου,  
τᾶλλα δὲ πάντα φόβοι τε καὶ ἄλγεα' κῆν τι πάθῃ τις  
ἔσθλόν, ἀμοιβαίην ἐκδέχεται Νέμεσιν.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Epist.* 1, 2, 34-37.

<sup>7</sup> This fragment has been preserved by Plutarch in his life of Demetrius, ch. 45. It may be found as Fragment 713 in Dindorf's edition (1869) of the Greek dramatists.

<sup>8</sup> *Aeneid* v, 195-197.

<sup>9</sup> *Iliad* xvii, 446-447.

<sup>10</sup> I have not been able to locate these lines in the *Anthology* or elsewhere.

" 'Sweet before all else are things fair to thee by nature, earth, sea, stars, orbs of moon and sun; all else is but fears, and griefs; and even if there should come some good gift to one, Nemesis follows to balance.' "

The passage from Menander with which Morley compares these lines is probably Fragment 481 (Kock), the text and translation of which may be found in Allinson's *Menander* in the Loeb Classical Library. Gilbert Murray translates it in the last chapter of his *Aristophanes*:

I count it happiness,  
Ere we go quickly thither whence we came,  
To gaze ungrieving on these majesties,  
The world-wide sun, the stars, water and clouds  
And fire. Live, Parmeno, a hundred years  
Or a few months, these you will always see,  
And never, never, any greater things.<sup>11</sup>

And so it is all through Morley's book. He cannot keep away from those old Greeks and Romans. Latin and Greek words and phrases are tossed casually into a sentence in a way to make a rusty near-classicist scramble to dust off his lexicon. And he rambles on:

"Chat with Gilbert about *res Hellenicae*." "Read a good quantity of old Guic. [Guiccardini]. Also a few pages of Sallust, whom I have not opened for years. Easier reading than Guic." "Read a bit of Cicero *De Oratore*." "Read Cicero *De Oratore* for an hour after dinner. Also the newspapers. Preferred Cicero." "Began Sallust's *Jugurtha*. The first sentence is blamed by Quintilian for being too metrical; just the fault I found with a certain sentence in my Machiavelli." "After dinner two hours of *Oratore*. Most interesting indeed. Capital distinction in Cicero between *disertus* and *eloquens*, the pointed and accomplished speaker dealing in the accepted commonplace of mediocrity, and the orator who adds splendid decoration to his sources of plain fact."

And he stages a hypothetical debate between the statesmen Harcourt and Fox, adding his comments. With a portion of that let us conclude:

<sup>11</sup> Gilbert Murray, *Aristophanes*: New York, Oxford University Press (1933).

"Then we may conceive the disputants next day seeking easier ground in Fox's proposition that if a man's object is public speaking, Euripides ought to be his constant study, scarcely less than Homer himself. Perhaps Harcourt would have told him that Euripides and Homer alike had long followed the power of the Crown in our modern senate. Never again will either House hear a minister declaim the solemn hexameters of Lucretius, among the noblest in all poetry; or the verses where Virgil describes the husbandman turning up with rake or plough the rusty javelins, empty helmets, and mighty bones of a forgotten battlefield of long ago;<sup>12</sup> or like Pitt in his glorious speech against the slave trade, inspired by the shooting of a beam of the rising sun through the windows of the house to the most beautiful and apt of recorded parliamentary impromptus in the two Latin lines:

nos . . . primus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis,  
illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper.<sup>13</sup>

This disappearance of a once admired parliamentary habit, if anybody will lay it to heart, is significant of a great many more important things than a casual change in literary taste. Not that literary taste was absent."

<sup>12</sup> Vergil *Georg.* 1, 495-497.

<sup>13</sup> *Georg.* 1, 250 f.

## THE LAST WORDS OF PERICLES

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When Pericles was at the point of death a number of his friends were gathered about his bed, and, under the impression that he was no longer conscious, were discussing his great power and virtue, and recalling how he had erected nine trophies to celebrate his victories on behalf of the city. Pericles, however, followed their conversation and rebuked his friends for praising acts that were in part due to fortune and were common to other generals, while they made no mention of the fairest and greatest of his achievements. "For," he said, "no Athenian because of me has ever put on the black garb of mourning" (Plutarch, *Per.* xxxviii, 4). Plutarch interprets this claim somewhat indefinitely as referring to Pericles' attitude toward his opponents in public life. The statesman is to be admired, he continues, not only for the moderation and the gentleness with which he conducted himself on questions that aroused bitter animosities but also for the nobility of his character; for he cherished most highly the thought that he had never allowed envy or anger to influence the exercise of his vast power nor had he regarded his enmity with any man as incurable (*ibid.* xxxix, 1). This latter statement is doubtless a euphemistic way of saying that he put no political opponent to death.

Modern scholars have either altered the emphasis of Plutarch's explanation or diverged sharply from it. The dying boast has been variously interpreted as evidence of the keen foresight of Pericles, of his avoidance of distant and hazardous enterprises with a consequent economy of the public force, of the humanity of his character, of a final protest against the war spirit, or even more vaguely as an indication of his pride in the constant moderation and re-

straint of temper that he maintained through life. Bishop Thirlwall, however, took exception to all such explanations, for he was disturbed that a claim of this nature should be made on behalf of Pericles, who must surely have been conscious of having been instrumental in involving Athens in the longest and bloodiest war of her history. He believes that the obvious interpretation of Pericles' last words lies in the anecdote in which Plutarch earlier in the *Life* (*ibid.* xviii, 1) tells of the care that Pericles exercised for his soldiers and of his repeated claim that if he were able he would have them live forever. Bishop Thirlwall thinks Plutarch surprisingly forgetful in overlooking this earlier passage in his own essay.<sup>1</sup>

Evidence for all these assertions regarding the character of Pericles can be readily found. The strategy that he advocated during the Peloponnesian War, non-resistance to the invading Spartans, attention to the navy, and avoidance of any attempt to extend the empire during hostilities, was undoubtedly the wisest policy for the city, as the Athenians were to realize after his death (Thucydides ii, 65, 7); and it doubtless prevented the useless waste of many lives. To mention a more specific illustration, Pericles, on routing Melissus, blockaded Samos for nine months because he preferred to take the city at the cost of time and money rather than through the suffering and lives of his fellow-citizens (Plutarch, *Per.* xxvii f.). As a general he was cautious and reserved, choosing to avoid where possible battles that would involve uncertainty and danger (*ibid.* xxviii, 2). There is also the anecdote of a low fellow who heaped abuse on Pericles for a whole day and followed him to his home at night still reviling him. To the entire incident Pericles paid no attention whatever except, since it was dark when they reached the house, to order his own servant to take a torch and conduct the man to his home (*ibid.* v, 2 f.).

<sup>1</sup> The interpretations in this paragraph will be found respectively in Grote, *A History of Greece*: London, J. Murray (1849), vi, 230; Holm, *The History of Greece* (translated): London, Macmillan and Co. (1899), ii, 342; Bury, *A History of Greece*<sup>2</sup>: London, Macmillan and Co. (1924), 409; Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*.<sup>4</sup> New York, Oxford University Press (1924), 434; Duruy, *History of Greece* (translated): Boston, Estes and Lauriat (1890), iii, sec. 1, 243; Curtius, *History of Greece* (translated): New York, Scribner, Armstrong, and Co. (1872), iii, 80 f.; Thirlwall, *Greece*: London, Longman, Orme, Brown, Greene, and Longmans, (1839), iii, 168, and n. 1.

This illustration is, perhaps, sufficient indication of the dignity and restraint on which Pericles rightly prided himself.

Even so these explanations of his dying words seem forced in spite of the fact that they are doubtless intended to be the reverse. The sound and conservative advice of Pericles regarding the conduct of Athens in the war was at most applicable to the last few years of his life, and it is distinctly out of place as a final personal estimate of his own long career. If in the years of his active generalship he preferred to spare the lives of his soldiers (and what general would not for reasons both of policy and humanity?), he was also willing to expend the lives necessary to win the campaign on which he had embarked. When he had reduced the city of Samos and had pronounced the funeral oration over the Athenians who fell in the campaign, he was acclaimed on leaving the platform by men and women alike as a champion of the city. Only Elpinice reproved him, asking if he thought it honorable and deserving of wreaths that he should have lost so many brave and good citizens, not in a war with the barbarians but in the subversion of an allied and kindred city. Pericles smiled quietly and, quoting a verse of Archilochus, reminded her that she was too old to meddle in the affairs of others. He was indeed exceedingly proud of his exploit at Samos (*ibid.* XXVIII, 4 f.).

This is more nearly the real Pericles. Emphasize his humanity, judgment, and economy of man power as much as we will, dismiss the whole suggestion that he promoted the war for personal reasons to divert the growing ill will of the people,<sup>2</sup> the fact remains that Pericles was an imperialist who believed with all his heart in restraining the allies, maintaining the empire, and exalting the name of the city.<sup>3</sup> In fact, if there is a saving grace to the imperialism of Athens, it is the candor with which the policy is expressed. That it has ever been the custom for the stronger to rule the weaker is the frank claim of the Athenian envoys at Sparta just before the outbreak of the war (Thucydides I, 76, 2), and the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. M. Cornford, *Thucydides' Mythistoricus*: London, Edward Arnold, (1907), 4, 26 and 30, for a brief statement of this controversy, together with the pertinent references.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Thucydides I, 144, 4; II, 65, 9; Plutarch, *Per.* IX, 1.

admonition of Pericles to the Athenian people that they must ruthlessly maintain the empire, which has become in truth a tyranny, is not less openly realistic (*ibid.* II, 63). Such a policy, whether directed against revolting allies or against the Peloponnesians in the war, would inevitably cost much in human life. Therefore, to claim on the basis of moderation in war or pious concern for the lives of the troops that he had never caused the death of an Athenian is simply sophistic nonsense; and in spite of the malicious story told by his son Xanthippus that his father had once wasted a whole day discussing in connection with an accidental death at the games whether it was the javelin, the javelin-thrower, or the judges of the contest, who in the strictest sense were responsible for the accident, Pericles manifestly was not a trifling casuist. Therefore, we must look elsewhere for the meaning of his last words.

Bishop Thirlwall was right in rejecting an interpretation that was out of harmony with Pericles' actual conduct in war, though his protest has had little influence on his successors. On the other hand, there are objections to his theory; for Pericles can scarcely have seriously believed that even genuine and constant concern for the lives of the soldiers was sufficient foundation to support so extravagant a claim. At best, Bishop Thirlwall has suggested a passage in the *Life* that Plutarch might have recalled, but he has not logically explained the last words of Pericles. However, there is really no serious inconsistency in Plutarch's explanation as it stands. From incidents that Plutarch has told about the earlier career of Pericles it seems logical to suppose that his mind was turned to personal matters during the last conscious minutes of his life. It is known that in his youth Pericles felt nervous before the people because he closely resembled the tyrant Pisistratus. He feared ostracism and therefore devoted himself to a military career, carefully avoiding politics. However, with the death of Aristides, the banishment of Themistocles, and the lengthy absences of Cimon from the city, Pericles yielded to the temptation to adopt a political career. Nevertheless, since he still feared that he might be suspected of harboring tyrannical ambitions, he devoted himself to the popular party so as to differentiate himself from

Cimon (Plutarch, *Per.* vii, 1-3). It is probable that similar caution led him all through his life to shun arbitrary use of his power in causing the death of his political opponents. It is to this moderation that Plutarch is referring. Only two incidents are known where the name of Pericles is connected with a story of execution or assassination. There is in the first place the suggestion that Elpinice brought influence to bear on him to spare the life of her brother Cimon when he faced a capital charge (*ibid.* x, 5), and in the second place Plutarch (x, 6) indignantly denies the charge that Pericles was responsible for the assassination of Ephialtes. Unfortunately, the killing of men through the diplomacy that produces war or through action on the battlefield itself has always been more leniently judged by public opinion and has rested more lightly on the conscience of war ministers and soldiers than has actual murder or the instigation to assassination in time of peace. It is probably true that Pericles was wholly guiltless in the latter respect, and it is on this personal freedom from the blood of a fellow-citizen that he looks back with pride at the end of his life.

It will be well to remember that Plutarch tells his anecdotes in a highly uncritical manner; and since the story of the dying words of Pericles originates as far as we know with Plutarch, there may be scant truth in the whole tale. None the less we should seek a reasonable explanation of the story as we find it.

## Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

### THE NAME OF NESTOR'S YOUNGEST SON

Bethe,<sup>1</sup> in support of his hypothesis that the *Telemachy* took final shape in Athens under the Pisistratids, follows Muelder (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.* ix, 1, 1042) in believing that the name of the tyrant was given to the youngest son of Nestor (*Od.* iii, 36, 400, 415; iv, 200 f.) to strengthen the tyrant's claim to be a Neleid. In such matters we are, of course, in the realm of pure conjecture, but the theory of an Athenian origin of the *Telemachy* in the sixth century B.C. is open to so many objections that it makes no strong appeal to serious students of Homer. Furthermore, there is a better reason for the name of Nestor's youngest son.

In Homer Hector's son, born after the beginning of the War, was called Astyanax, "for Hector alone protected Ilios" (*Il.* vi, 403). Menelaus' only son, born of a concubine apparently after the desertion of Helen, was called Megapenthes—exactly as Rachel with her last breath named the son for whom she gave her life, Benoni, "Child of my Sorrow" (*Gen.* xxxv, 18). Odysseus left home when his only son was a babe, to "fight far away"; hence the name Telemachus. Achilles must have been a very young man when the War began, and the ancients believed that his only son was called Neoptolemus because his father was a "youthful warrior" (Schol. BT on *Il.* xix, 326; Eustathius 1187, 21; Pausanias x, 26, 4). Thus in Homer four sons of major heroes, born just before or during the War, bear names suggested by some experience of their respective fathers which has been made familiar to the hearer by the story of

<sup>1</sup> *Homer, Dichtung und Sage*<sup>2</sup>: Leipzig, B. G. Teubner (1929), II, 342 f.

the *Iliad*. Why should not the same be true of Nestor's youngest son?

In the *Iliad* Nestor, in the absence of Achilles, suggests most of the wise plans that concern the army. The poet tells us that the Achaeans selected as his prize after the sack of Tenedos the daughter of a proud hero, because his counsel was always best (*Il.* XI, 627, οὐνεκα βουλῇ ἀριστεύεσκεν ἀπάντων). Although in the Quarrel Agamemnon and Achilles refuse to heed his plea, neither the council nor the "army" ever fails to take his "advice." Hence the name Peisi-stratos is given to Nestor's youngest son, the only son who plays an important role in the *Odyssey*, quite as Homerically as are the names of the other four sons of major heroes. Orestes is the only exception, doubtless because his name had been fixed by tradition.

Herodotus (v, 65) says that Hippocrates gave his son the name of the Pisistratus of the *Odyssey* in view of the fact that his family descended from the Pylian Neleids. Pausanias (ii, 24, 7) mentions another Pisistratus, archon of Athens in 669 B.C. Wilamowitz<sup>1</sup> believes that this Pisistratus "certainly belonged to the family of the tyrants." This seems reasonable and does not make against the truth of Herodotus' statement: a remote descendant of John Eliot might be named for the Apostle to the Indians none the less because his great-grandfather bore the same name for the same reason. It must also be remembered that the son of another early Athenian Neleid, Codrus, was named Neleus. It is altogether probable that the archon Pisistratus, if he were also a Neleid, would have been given the name of a son of Neleus' son Nestor, who had been made famous by the *Odyssey*. This would mean that the *Odyssey* was known to the Athenians at least as early as 700 B.C.

Of course this is pure hypothesis, but it is open to far less serious objection than that of Bethe. It accords with tradition, which we have no right to hold false until it is so proven; we should rather follow Anglo-Saxon legal procedure, and hold tradition innocent of error until its falsity is established beyond reasonable doubt. It is not reasonable to question the fact that the Homeric poems

<sup>1</sup> *Die Heimkehr des Odysseus*: Berlin, Weidmann (1927), 111.

were known in Athens before the time of Solon or the Pisistratids; or the probability that a Pisistratus whose family claimed descent from the kings of Pylus should be named for a prince of Pylus made famous by Homer; or, finally, that the *Odyssey*, which is recognized as a poem very like the *Iliad* and nearly as great, was composed by the same poet, as ancient tradition declares with not a single dissenting voice.

Modern scholars, who have taken seriously the *jeu d'esprit* of Xeno and Hellanicus, point out many differences between the two Homeric poems. Many of these differences vanish when carefully examined. Those that remain are not too great to be explained by difference of theme and changes in the attitude of mind of one great poet during a long life. The Chorizontes of to-day ignore the knockdown argument of Professor John A. Scott<sup>3</sup> that Greek tradition must have preserved some slight trace of the name or the existence of the poet of the *Odyssey*, if he were not also the poet of the *Iliad*. Until they offer a reasonable explanation of the paradox which this argument presents, they have no right to regard their theory as anything but the purest hypothesis.

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#### RESTING THE HORN ON THE SAND

W. R. Paton thus translates *Anthologia Graeca* VI, 230 (Loeb Classical Library, *The Greek Anthology*, I, p. 421):

To thee, Phoebus of the cape, who rulest this fringe of the Bithynian land near the beach, did Damis, the fisherman who ever rests his horn on the sand, give this well protected trumpet-shell with its natural spikes, a humble present from a pious heart. The old man prays to thee that he may see death without disease.

The passage, "who ever rests his horn on the sand" (ψάμμω κέρας αἰὲν ἐρείδων) has sometimes been adduced as an ally by those scholars who have jousting in the "Fishing in Homer" tournament,

<sup>3</sup> *The Unity of Homer*: Berkeley, University of California Press (1929), 243-248.

in the belief that it has a certain bearing on the "horn of the field-ox"<sup>1</sup> that formed some part of ancient fishing equipment.

The context seems surely to suggest an entirely different interpretation. Damis is an old fisherman of Bithynia who is nearing the end of life's journey. To Apollo, as the musician god, he dedicates a Triton shell; for he has been something of a musician himself and possesses a *κέρας*, a horn instrument. The fact that he dwells not far from Phrygia suggests that this may have been a Phrygian pipe, which bore the name *κέρας* in antiquity;<sup>2</sup> but the point need not be pressed. Damis is looking forward to death, and so "lets his pipe lie forever abandoned on the sand" of the sea-shore.

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### FISHING IN HOMER

In the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, XXXI (1936), 303-314, Professor H. N. Couch has conducted a careful and thorough reëxamination of the old problems that attend the question of fishing in Homer, particularly those concerning the crux of the "field-ox horn" as part of the fishing tackle. After discussing the merits of various theories, he shows reasons ultimately for accepting the view of Haskins<sup>1</sup> that the *κέρας* is a small fish carved from horn, which serves as an artificial bait. But in his concluding paragraph he seems to admit the possibility that it may have been a horn hook.

An important factor in the controversy that has not, I believe, been hitherto noticed is the consideration of the specific gravity of horn. I am informed by a competent physicist that the specific gravity of this material, though it shows considerable variation as between specimen and specimen, averages about 1.80. In other words, horn is almost twice as heavy as water and sinks very readily in that element. Thus we may discard absolutely the arguments of those who maintain that it is the entire horn of the ox that is in question. For we have in *Iliad* xxiv, 80 intimation of the use of a

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* xii, 253; *Il.* xxiv, 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Pollux* iv, 74 f.

<sup>3</sup> C. E. Haskins, *Jour. Phil.* xix (1891), 238-240.

lead sinker in conjunction with the horn. This lead would be required only where the volume of the horn would be too slight to offset the relative buoyancy of the line or bait, whose specific gravity might have been 1.00 or less.

The only rational "small horn" theories that have ever been advanced involve (1) a tube above the hook to protect the line, (2) the artificial fish, and (3) the horn hook. The first is possible, but unlikely, as we are dealing with "little fishes"; hence, the choice lies between the horn fish and the horn hook. The evidence, such as it is, favors, I think, the latter at three points: If the artificial fish displaces, let us say, a cubic inch of water, if it is baitless and is furnished, as Haskins and Couch postulate, with bronze hooks, it ought to sink rapidly enough without the aid of a leaden sinker. Homer describes his fish which are caught with a line as ὠμῆσται, <sup>2</sup> "eating raw flesh"—for which a piece of horn would provide a poor substitute. Again, he represents the fisherman as casting εἶδαρα, <sup>3</sup> "food," into the sea and this—unless we accept the wholly unlikely interpretation of "ground bait"—must imply the lowly earth-worm or some organic equivalent, which he attaches to his hook.

We need entertain no fears for the strength of the horn hook. The gelatinous substance of which it is composed will bend a long way before it will crack. Furthermore, Radcliffe<sup>4</sup> adduces evidence to show that fishing hooks of horn were used in prehistoric Europe and in the island of Crete.

Not even the most orthodox unitarian would maintain that the content of the Homeric simile necessarily involves conditions or institutions that are contemporary with the composition of the poems. We may conclude, therefore, that the horn hook that seems to be implied in the two similes cited above represent, *ex hypothesi*, a certain type of implement used long before Homer's day, which

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* xxiv, 82. The word is used sparingly in Homer and never of pure greediness; he applies it to birds (*Il.* xi, 454), dogs (*xxii*, 67), and figuratively to Achilles (*xxiv*, 207).

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* xii, 252.

<sup>4</sup> William Radcliffe, *Fishing from the Earliest Times*.<sup>2</sup> New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1926), 81-83.

had survived in tradition. The bronze hook, which is mentioned elsewhere in Homer, must have come into use somewhat later.

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### SEMANTIC NOTES TO LATIN WORDS

Goldsmiths gage the size of a finger ring by sliding it on a graduated cone. Hence *conor*, "try," from *kōvos*. Cf. *percontor*, "cross-examine," from *kovtrós*, a pole for testing the depth of water. The writer has found no other evidence for the use of the ring cone in antiquity but the use of rings was so ubiquitous that some method of gaging must have been common. Perhaps the word *conor* itself is adequate evidence.

Every Roman gentleman carried a ring bearing a seal. To seal a letter he pressed the seal into the wax (*imprimo*); he then removed it (*exprimo*), leaving the impress of the device. Hence "express" means to copy, portray, as in Cicero, *Pro Milone* IV, 10, *quam . . . ex natura ipsa . . . expressimus*, "which we have copied from nature herself." Here and elsewhere editors falsely interpret it as a metaphor from the wine-press.

*Discipulus*, "pupil," defies connection with *disco* on the basis of form. It is probably from *discupio*, "desire exceedingly." Cf. "student" from *studeo*, "be eager." Students of the second century B.C. were so eager for the new knowledge that the Greek teachers were banished by the senate. Later semantic contamination with *disco* may account for the change of spelling.

*Dens genuinus* means "wisdom tooth" in our parlance, from a noun corresponding to *γένυς*, "jaw," literally "jaw tooth" or "cheek tooth," the same root as in *gena*. Seemingly the influence of folklore accounts for our word "genuine." People can be trusted after they have cut their wisdom teeth.

The same word *γένυς* sometimes meant the jaw with the beard on it. Hence *ingenuus*, "unbearded," "innocent," "ingenuous." Both of these words are usually assigned to a supposititious root *genu-* from *gigno*. Even so the semantic problem remains unsolved. The above explanations fit both form and meaning.

*Nepos*, from *ne-potis*, means an "infant at law," one incompetent to have control of his property. If the boy's father was dead his grandfather became his guardian. Hence the meaning "grandson." If his grandfather was also dead his uncle became his guardian. Hence the meaning "nephew." Since in either case he was more likely than otherwise to become a waster, the meaning "spendthrift" accrued.

*Avunculus*, "uncle," from *avus*, ought to mean "little grandfather." The shift came about in this way. If a boy's father and grandfather both died his uncle became his guardian, but this uncle might be little older or even younger than his ward. Hence "little grandfather," since he replaced the grandfather as guardian.

The right hand of a man wearing the toga was free. The left hand, as statues show, was carried in the fold (*sinus*) of the garment. Hence *sinister*, "left," which is rightly identified as a new word, since it displaced *laevus* and *scaevus*.

Words ending in *-ter* often denote one of a pair. Hence *magister*, "the greater of two" and *minister*, "the less of two." Similarly an aunt on the mother's side is *matertera*, "second mother." For *minister* from *minus-ter* compare *sinister* from *sinus-ter* above. Note *dexter* and *sinister* as a pair.

*Venus, -eris*, ought to be neuter like *genus, -eris*. It is used by Naevius to mean "fruit" (Festus, p. 58 Müller). Dictionaries give the meaning "crop" for *proventus*. *Venio* means "grow" in Vergil, *Georgics* I, 54, *illic veniunt felicius uvae*; *ibid.*, II, 11. Hence *veneror* means to carry the first fruits to the gods, as in *Georgics* I, 338-339:

In primis venerare deos atque annua magnae  
sacra refer Cereri.

*Venus* became feminine by equation with Aphrodite<sup>1</sup> just as *cupido* became masculine by equation with Eros.

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<sup>1</sup> But Venus was goddess of gardens, and hence feminine, before she became equated with Aphrodite. Cf. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*<sup>2</sup>: München, Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (1912), 288 f. Ed.

## Book Reviews

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[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

CYRIL BAILEY, *Religion in Virgil*: New York, Oxford University Press (1935). Pp. 337. \$5.00.

In his Introduction the author writes: "It is the purpose of this essay not primarily at any rate to seek for Virgil's own personal religion, but to conduct a rather more detailed examination . . . into the religious ideas and practices which find their place in his poems." This purpose is admirably worked out in chapters covering "Magic, Omen, and Prophecy"; "Old Italian Religion"; "The State Cult"; "The Graeco-Roman Gods"; "Oriental Gods, Cosmological Gods, Worship of the Emperor"; "Fate and the Gods"; and "The Dead and the Underworld."

This book is not a manual of Roman religion and is comparatively free of the documentation rightly expected of such a manual. Indeed, the disentanglement of truly Roman religion from its overburden of extraneous elements, especially Greek, had been previously done by Wissowa, Fowler, Mannhardt, Frazer, and by Bailey himself. The value of the work under review lies rather in the fact that an expert in Roman religion has made an independent investigation of the poems of Vergil against the background of all that we know of the old Roman religion. The result is a dependable evaluation of the religious ideas of Vergil's time as revealed in the poems themselves.

The teacher of Vergil who is not an expert in Roman religion will find in this book exactly what he needs to know about the religious element in those poems. For example, Vergil's fine ani-

mistic feeling for the old gods of woodland and stream is made clear by the discussion of his use of such Latin words as *religio*, *numen*, *sacer*, and *pius*, and the reader is made to see how the prayers of the Aeneid follow genuine Italian tradition even though they do not retain the antique formulae we find in Cato. Though Greek anthropomorphism and Greek philosophy had caused many of the old gods to fade in Vergil's mind, he still retains a lively affection for them. His feeling for Venus, Juno, and Jupiter is much deeper, for in them he conceived a triad which together represent Rome's ultimate government of the world. Moreover, "in the idea of *pietas*, the ready obedience to the will of heaven, which was also the bond of the common life in the family and the State, there lies a conception which was fundamental to his outlook on the world..."

Though one is inclined to agree with the author in most of what he says of the amalgamation of Greek and Roman gods, one may be allowed to doubt whether Ceres is a goddess of fertility of pure Italic history, and to wish in general that the author had given more weight to the very stimulating studies of Altheim.<sup>1</sup>

The chapter on "Fate and the Gods" is probably the best in the book. *Fatum*, the author maintains, may mean in Vergil's poems the fate of an individual, or of a god (*numen*), or even world destiny, *i.e.*, the Stoic *providentia*. The supreme *Fatum* is equivalent to the *numen*, or will, of Jupiter, as *rex deorum*.

In the last chapter we have a fine presentation of the growth of Roman concepts of the underworld from the hazy beginnings such as are found in the *Odyssey*, through the rich additions of Orphism, Pythagoreanism, Platonism, and Stoicism, all fused into a complete and satisfying whole by supreme poetic art, and leading to the conclusion that the dead through suffering come into a richer life by metempsychosis, and that even in the life of mortals suffering is a means to salvation.

The volume is very attractively printed and few errors were

<sup>1</sup> Franz Altheim, *Griechische Götter im Alten Rom*: Giessen, Töpelmann (1930); *idem*, *Terra Mater*: Giessen, Töpelmann (1931).

observed by the reviewer. Professor Lily Ross Taylor is referred to on page 188 as Ross Taylor.

There is a general index and an *index locorum*.

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EUGENE TAVENNER

GRANT SHOWERMAN, *Monuments and Men of Ancient Rome*: New York, London, Appleton-Century Company (1935). Pp. xxii + 344. \$5.

The art of popularizing ancient life has never reached maturity in America, as it has in England and in France. Our scholarship is generally sound, if, at times, unimaginative; but when we assume the rôle of popularizer we cut a sorry figure. We become arch or trivial or juvenescent. Examples of this are strewn as thickly over the surface of our classical culture as gulfweed in the Sargasso sea.

On the other hand, we have done excellent work in that field, half handbook and half textbook, containing in essence the material of some course, which is typified by such treatises as Professor Van Hook's on Greek life and thought. With these in spirit, though the scope and physical form are different, belongs Professor Showerman's *Monuments and Men of Ancient Rome*; for many of its chapters, judged by their large informative content, seem to have come bodily from class lectures at home or in Italy. It is a volume which every high school teacher would profit in possessing, which can be unequivocally recommended as collateral reading for classes in Roman civilization, and which, in parts, will serve as a stimulating guide book; but to call it, as does the publisher's blurb, "a masterpiece of popularization" is to miss its true function, and to direct it into the wrong hands, where it will be criticized for what it contains or censured for what it omits.

The first eight chapters, after briefly outlining Rome's growth, summarize the archaeological sites and existing ruins throughout the Roman world; tell how Rome was buried or destroyed, how excavated and restored; and list the chief sources for the study of ancient Rome. In the next twenty-two chapters the great figures

of the Golden Age, Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, Horace, and Augustus, are portrayed against the background of the topography, climate, skies, trees, flowers, and buildings of their individual haunts. The last brief chapters, constituting some thirty pages, discuss in similar wise the period from Augustus through Marcus Aurelius.

Showerman had an unusually broad acquaintance with the ancient world in its geography and in its remains. He had traveled over it extensively and frequently, with camera always at hand, with attentive eye and mind alert, and with the trained scholar's conscience for the ascertainable fact. In the volume before us he selects from his store with wisdom and yet with great variety and catholicity of interest. He describes the changing technique of excavation. He sketches the participation of American scholars and institutions in archaeological research (especially of the American Academy in Rome where he was fellow, annual professor, and for ten years director of the summer session). He outlines the vicissitudes of the *Augusteo*. He reports the latest Fascist plans for the imperial *fora* or for the *Via del Mare*. In few volumes will the reader find so much information gracefully condensed into such short space.

The most felicitous passages are those in which Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, and Horace are pictured in their physical environment. The important events in their lives and writings are reconstructed, each in its proper setting, and are made vital and real through the evocations of archaeology and geography. The sites mentioned in the *Commentaries*, the town dwelling or country villas of Cicero, Vergil's retreats and the inevitable Sabine farm are located, with innumerable others, or are depicted from classic ruin or modern landscape, and illuminated by the generous quotation of apposite gleanings from many writers. Here our author is at his best and we catch a glimpse of the cause of his popularity with students. When he turns to a discussion of style or of philosophy, the material seems less congenial and the treatment is less persuasive.

The practical features of the volume are noteworthy. The numerous illustrations (one hundred and fifty-nine) are unhackneyed—largely the fruit of the author's own good taste and photography—up to the minute and superbly reproduced by the aquatone process (*Amphitheater* at Carthage, p. 18, should be *Theater*).

The sixteen maps and plans are actually adapted to the text which they are supposed to explain—*quod minime reris!* Dates, measurements, summaries abound; they make the book singularly self-sufficient and useful for a student. Brief Annotations and an Index close the volume.

The facts are accurately reported. Controversial matters are in general avoided. Slips and misprints are few and their correction obvious. In this, the last work from his hand, Professor Showerman has fashioned a fitting memorial to his devoted and brilliant career as a classicist.

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ERICH BURCK, *Die Erzählungskunst des T. Livius* (Problemata, Heft 11): Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung (1934). Pp. x+244. Unbound RM 16.

This book is the latest of several recent essays on Livy's literary art. After a brief critique of the methods and results of his predecessors, Burck proceeds, perhaps a little vaguely, to formulate his own plan of attack. "The question is at present" (I translate from p. 4 of the introduction) "whether what Délaruelle wished to do, but undertook with insufficient means, viz. to confront Livy with his annalistic precursors and to assign them all to their proper places in the grandiose development of Hellenistic-Roman historiography, as at once fructified and fructifying leaders in this development, cannot be achieved by employing a broader foundation for the study." And a little later (p. 5) he declares that only by forming a clear picture—*ein klares Bild*—of the narrative art of the later annalists can we make such a detailed comparison as will enable us to recognize the Livian in Livy—*das Livianische im Livius*. And since these annals are lost, Burck proposes to employ as a kind of substitute for them—*eine Art Ersatz*—the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which rest for long stretches on the same foundations as Livy. Such a substitution is quite unconvincing since the work of Dionysius, like the corresponding part of Livy's work, is the product of two factors, both

unknown; viz., the element derived from the annalists and the element contributed by its author.

Nevertheless, though Burck's example is another warning to "accept no substitutes," as the advertisements admonish us, the shrewd and sympathetic analysis of Books I-V which constitutes Part One (pp. 8-175) will, I am sure, be recognized as a valuable help by those who would penetrate the secret of Livy's greatness as a writer. After all, "the proof of the pudding is in the eating," and the unity which Livy manages to impart to the variegated story of political strife and foreign wars, by stressing always the ethical significance of men and actions; the skill with which he is shown to have selected, grouped, and handled his materials throughout these books; the patriotism and moral earnestness which pervade the whole; the harmonious variety of the style with which his narrative is clothed, are the best possible proof that Livy's art is in the highest sense original—whatever may have been his borrowings from the tool-chest of his predecessors. And, if Burck's running comparison with the *Antiquities* does nothing else to further the enquiry, it serves at least to illuminate Livy's consummate mastery, against the foil of a pedantic doctrinaire.

In Part Two (pp. 176-233) and the Conclusion (pp. 234-241) the author attempts a synthesis of "the constituent elements" of Livy's art, as these have been revealed by the analysis in Part One, and considers how far this art is indebted to the peripatetic, or tragic, history-writing of the Hellenistic age. Lack of space forbids an examination of this very interesting section of Burck's book, but the reviewer feels that the resultant portrait of "the young Livy," his spiritual quality and his art, is both vivid and true.

Readers of Livy will perhaps be surprised at being told (p. 200), à propos of his avoidance of *ἐκφράσεις* (descriptive digressions), that he has inserted not a single excursus in his account of Hannibal's march through southern France and his passage of the Pyrenees and of the Alps. Everybody will think at once of XXI, 32, 7—that short but unforgettable description of the Alps as first seen by the soldiers of Hannibal and of the terror which the sight inspired in them. Indeed the whole narrative of the crossing is colored with effective suggestion of the physical environment. These brief de-

scriptions (the Druentia, 31, 10-12; the promontory, 35, 7-8; the cliff, 36, 1-37, 4; the valleys, foot-hills, streams, and woods on the Italian slope, 37, 5) are, it is true, woven into the fabric of the narrative, instead of being handled as excursuses, and Burck's statement is literally true, but such passages ought not to have been ignored in any discussion, however summary, of Livy's interest, or lack of interest, in landscape.

There are two indexes, one of places, the other of names (pp. 242-244).

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F. W. WALBANK, *Aratos of Sicyon* (Thirlwall Prize Essay 1933): Cambridge, University Press (1933); New York, The Macmillan Company. Pp. 222. \$2.75.

This book is one of the best Cambridge Prize Essays I have seen. There is not any really new information in it, but the task of reconstructing the period and the life of the man has been performed well. One might point out, in this connection, that the work is largely a political history and does not take up fully the constitutional nature of the Achaean League. Hence one misses reference to recent work on the Leagues such as that of Larsen.

After a brief consideration of the sources for the life of Aratos, and of the conditions in Greece in 255, the life of Aratos is dealt with in six interesting chapters. The material in the appendix is valuable, since it deals with various chronological problems. This is followed by a chronological outline, a list of abbreviations, and a bibliography well selected and arranged.

This is a most pleasing book. There is not much really "fine" writing in it, but the style is forceful and clear, while the argument throughout is well reasoned. As was fitting in an essay, the author has taken the liberty of frequent disagreement with authorities like Beloch and Tarn, especially upon minor matters of detail.

As the author pictures Aratos, and the picture is an accurate one in the main, the Greek compares favorably with the greatest masters of political expediency of our own time. Yet one retains the impression that Aratos failed to appreciate the significance of

the great social movements of his age, and likewise failed to exhibit the political insight and loftiness of conception which mark the thought and deeds of several of the Antigonid kings.

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COBBAN, J. MACDONALD, *Senate and Provinces 78-49 B. C.*: Cambridge, University Press (1935); New York, The Macmillan Co. Pp. xii+218. \$3.00.

This study, the Thirlwall Prize Essay of 1935, endeavors to trace and appraise the policy of the Roman Senate in provincial administration and certain aspects of foreign relations during the critical years that intervened between the death of Sulla and the Senate's declaration of war on Julius Caesar. Mr. Cobban begins with an analysis of the character and consequences of the Sullan restoration, and then takes up in turn the Senate's foreign policy, the method of appointing the provincial governor, the commands of Pompey and Lucullus, and the system of provincial administration, concluding with an estimate of Roman rule in practice. While his study necessarily covers familiar ground, it is no mere restatement of earlier opinions, but a fresh approach based on original sources and taking into account the more important recent literature. Toward modern authorities he has preserved an independent attitude, not hesitating to express disagreement with them when he feels that the evidence calls for it, and making some very useful suggestions on disputed points. It is quite evident that the author has a distinct partiality for the senate and senatorial government, and although this does not lead him in any way to distort his evidence, it does result in an overly generous interpretation of senatorial policies and achievements. Surely it is too much to call Lucullus "a great statesman" (p. 135), especially when we are told that "his political ideals were over a century too old" (p. 137). The view that "Rome's greatest gift to the provinces was the conception of justice which she introduced" (p. 203), must be read in the light of the conditions prevailing in Cyrene which necessitated the judicial reforms of Augustus. After all has been said, there was something fundamentally wrong in a system which could produce

a Piso or a Verres, even if such creatures were in a distinct minority among the provincial governors. One might wish that the writer had taken pains regularly to cite page references to the views of others which he criticizes. The select bibliography is good, but should contain F. H. Cowles, *Gaius Verres*, New York (1917). There is a satisfactory index.

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## Hints for Teachers

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[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, Berkeley Institute, 181 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, New York. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

### A Roman Calendar

MENSIS MAIUS (derivation uncertain)

- |                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| 1 KALENDAE MAIAE     | The ancient temple of <i>Bona Dea</i> on the slopes of the Aventine was dedicated.<br>In early times an altar was erected to the <i>Lares praestiles</i> .<br>475 B.C. P. Valerius triumphed over the Veientes and the Sabines.<br>326 B.C. Q. Publilius triumphed over the Samnites.<br>110 B.C. M. Livius triumphed over the Scordiscans and Macedonians.<br>A.D. 305. Diocletian in the East and Maximian in the West abdicated as <i>Augusti</i> in favor of Galerius and Constantius. |
| 2 A.D. VI NON. MAI.  | 504 B.C. P. Valerius triumphed over the Sabines and Veientes.<br>459 B.C. Q. Fabius triumphed over the Aequians and Volscians.   |
| 3 A.D. V NON. MAI.   | <b>Floralia.</b> Final day of the games in honor of Flora.   |
| 4 A.D. IV NON. MAI.  | <b>Ludi Maximati.</b> These games lasted through May 9.  |
| 5 A.D. III NON. MAI. |  |
| 6 PRIDIE NON. MAI.   | 356 B.C. C. Marcus triumphed over the Tuscans.   |
| 7 NONAE MAIAE        | From May 7 to May 14 the Vestal Virgins were engaged in preparing the sacred salt-cakes, <i>mola salsa</i> , to be used at the <b>Vestalia</b> in June, on the   |

Ides of September, and at the **Lupercalia** in February.

358 B.C. C. Sulpicius triumphed over the Gauls.

A.D. 392. Valentinian II, Emperor in the West, was murdered at Vienne (*Vienna*) in Gaul.

8 A.D. VIII ID. MAI.

9 A.D. VII ID. MAI.

**Lemuria.** Private and domestic rites were performed by the head of the household in worship of the dead.

10 A.D. VI ID. MAI.

11 A.D. V ID. MAI.

**Lemuria.**

A.D. 14. A census which showed that the number of Roman citizens was 4,937,000 was solemnly concluded at a ceremony in the Campus Martius, in which the aged Augustus took part.

A.D. 330. Constantine's new capital at Byzantium, renamed Constantinople, was formally inaugurated as the new seat of empire by Christian ecclesiastics and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

12 A.D. IV ID. MAI.

**Ludi Martiales** were held in the Circus in honor of *Mars Ultor*, to whom Augustus dedicated a temple.

459 B.C. L. Cornelius triumphed over the Volscians and Antiates.

13 A.D. III ID. MAI.

**Lemuria.**

**Ludi Persici.** These games, established in the late empire, lasted five days.

14 PRIDIE ID. MAI.

**Marti Invicto.**

15 IDUS MAIAE

**Iovi Mercurio Maiae.** On this sacred day was held a purification rite in which rush bundles resembling bound men were taken to the *pons sublicius* by *Pontifices* and magistrates and cast into the river by the Vestals.

**Natalis Mercuri.**

16 A.D. XVII KAL. IUN.

358 B.C. C. Plautius triumphed over the Hernicans.

486 B.C. Sp. Cassius triumphed over the Volscians and Hernicans.

62 B.C. Q. Caecilius triumphed over the Cretans.

A.D. 218. Elagabalus was proclaimed emperor in a revolt against Macrinus.

17 A.D. XVI KAL. IUN.

18 A.D. XV KAL. IUN.

340 B.C. T. Manlius triumphed over the Latins, Campanians, Sidicinians, and Auruncans.

19 A.D. XIV. KAL. IUN.

20 A.D. XIII KAL. IUN.

21 A.D. XII KAL. IUN.

22 A.D. XI KAL. IUN.

23 A.D. X KAL. IUN.

24 A.D. IX KAL. IUN.

25 A.D. VIII KAL. IUN.

26 A.D. VII KAL. IUN.

27 A.D. VI KAL. IUN.

28 A.D. V KAL. IUN.

29 A.D. IV KAL. IUN.

A.D. 325. The Council of Nicaea (in Bithynia), convened by Constantine, began its deliberations. The views of Athanasius were upheld and Arianism was condemned.

**Agonia.** A festival for the obscure god Vediovis. A.D. 337. Constantine died at Nicaea shortly after receiving Christian baptism.

**Tubilustrium.** *Tubae* were lustrated so that they could be used to summon the assembly the next day for the making and witnessing of wills.

**Volcano.** The day was sacred to Vulcan.

58 B.C. Cicero finally arrived in Thessalonica, where he spent the remainder of his exile.

**Fortunae Publicae Populi Romani.** On this day in 194 B.C. a temple of Fortuna on the Quirinal, vowed in 204 B.C., was dedicated.

567 B.C. Servius Tullius triumphed over the Etruscans.

17 B.C. Preparations for the **Ludi saeculares**, which Augustus was reviving, were begun. Torches, sulphur, and bitumen for purification were distributed.

By a *senatus consultum* this day was made sacred because on it Caesar was hailed *Victor*.

28 B.C. C. Calvisius Sabinus triumphed for victories in Spain.

A.D. 17. Germanicus triumphed for three victories on the Rhine.

17 B.C. Preparations for **Ludi saeculares**.

17 B.C. Preparations for the **Ludi saeculares**.

**Ambarvalia.** Circumambulation of the fields by the priests, the chanting people, and the sacrificial victims—a bull, a sheep, and a pig—purified the crops from evil influences. This Roman festival still survives in many rural districts, though as a Christian, instead of a pagan, rite.

**Ludi fabarici.** These games lasted until June 1.

17 B.C. **Ludi saeculares.** The first-fruits of the approaching harvest were made into sacrificial cakes by the priests.

30 A.D. III KAL. IUN.	17 B.C. <b>Ludi saeculares.</b> 43 B.C. Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus formed the second triumvirate.
31 PRIDIE KAL. IUN.	17 B.C. <b>Ludi saeculares.</b> Augustus officiated in nocturnal rites at a subterranean altar in the Campus Martius near the Tiber. The matrons gave a banquet to Diana and Juno, whose statues occupied places in the company.
Early in May	218 B.C. Hannibal set out from <i>Nova Carthago</i> to invade Italy. 59 B.C. Rome learned of the marriage of Caesar's daughter Julia to Pompey.
During May	48 B.C. Caesar was defeated at Dyrrachium by Pompey.
Near the end of May	218 B.C. Hannibal crossed the Ebro.
May-June	58 B.C. Caesar defeated the Helvetians near Bibracte.

#### Latin Stamps

Stamps are a source of much interest to many pupils. Teachers and clubs looking for supplementary and project material will be glad to know that there are many stamps with classical connections.

The library of Walton High School, New York, New York, has on exhibition some eighty such stamps, a collection which "goes far to prove that Latin is still a world language." Concerning this collection Cora L. Bryson, of the department of Classical Languages, writes in the *Walton Log*:

Among them are examples of sixty-four different Latin legends issued by thirty-five different countries, cities, states, or provinces. These include Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Bavaria, Belgium, Brazil, British Guiana, British Honduras, Fiume, Grenada, Hungary, Irish Free State, Italy, Jamaica, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Malta, Massachusetts, Mauritius, Mexico, Monaco, Netherlands, New Hebrides, North Borneo, Nova Scotia, Panama, Paraguay, Reunion, St. Vincent, San Marino, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, and Vatican City. . . .

In addition to stamps with Latin legends, there are many that correlate closely with the study of the classics. . . . The stamps for the Olympic Games correlate with the fifth book of the *Aeneid*. Roumania, spelled on her stamps *Romania*, was once a Roman province. One stamp of this country shows the ruins of the tower of the Roman emperor Severus, and two others

show the Emperor Trajan's bridge across the Danube. Italy is "Italia" and Switzerland is "Helvetia" on their stamps, as in Caesar's time.

The gods, goddesses, and heroes of Greek mythology, with their emblems, abound on postage stamps from all over the world, showing how widespread is the knowledge of, and the interest in, this part of our classical inheritance. . . .

The stamps are mounted with their numbers in Scott's Stamp Catalogue, the place of issue, description or occasion, date, Latin inscription, and English translation.

Many teachers will recall that in connection with the *Bimillennium Vergilianum* in 1930 Italy issued a series bearing quotations from Vergil's poems.

#### Word Ancestry

If you are one of those persons who disapprove of slang you would not wish to say, if something should irritate you, "That burns me up!" You would possibly say, "That incenses me!" And still you would be saying "That burns me up!" Latin is a snappy language. *Incendere, incensum*, means "to set on fire." "Incendiarism" is setting fire to a building or other property, and an "incendiary" is one who does it. An "incendiary" speech is one that sets the mind or heart afire, that rouses the passions. Its purpose is to foment discord. "Incense" is that which is burned as an offering.

*Candere*, to which *incendere* is closely related, means "to shine, to be brilliant," and, in a stronger meaning, "to glow," as with heat. It has the added thought of purity, which we see in our English words "candor" and "candid."

From *candere* come the inchoative verbs *candescere* and *incandescere*. The latter of these had to wait a long time for Mr. Edison to invent his incandescent light, but the name fits. The incandescent light glows! It leaves the poor old-fashioned candle (Latin *candela*) almost in the dark.

WILLIS A. ELLIS

LOMBARD, ILLINOIS

## Current Events

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[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John B. Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Dwight N. Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Alfred P. Dorjahn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore., or to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

### Southern Section of the Classical Association

The southern section of the Classical Association will meet with Furman University and the Greenville Woman's College at Greenville, South Carolina, on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, April 23-25. The officers of the Association are: President, R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University; Vice-President, Ruth Carroll, Hartsville High School, Hartsville, South Carolina; Secretary-Treasurer, George Currie, Birmingham-Southern College.

The following papers will be presented at the meeting: "Horace and His Odes," W. N. Thomas, Howard College; "The Satire of Horace," R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University; "Literary Associations with a Summer's Visit in Europe," Marie B. Denneen, North Carolina College for Women; "Horatius Scaenicus" (illustrated), Charles E. Little, George Peabody College for Teachers; "Roman Ideas in the Constitution of the United States," George Currie, Birmingham-Southern College; "Roman Legislation Concerning Gambling," Clyde Pharr, Vanderbilt University; "Homer the Man," R. W. Durrett, Coker College; "Again, St. John Author of the Fourth Gospel," C. R. Harding, Davidson College; "What Was the Original Language of the Gospels?," C. D. Matthews, Birmingham-Southern College; "The Lay in Tradition in France," H. C. Lipscomb, Randolph-Macon Woman's College;

"The Latin Course of Study in South Carolina," Ruth Carroll, Hartsville High School, Hartsville, South Carolina; "Vergil's Appeal to the Youth of the Modern Secondary School," Mrs. Clara M. Olson, University of Florida; "Some Aspects of Vergil's Humor," A. L. Bondurant, University of Mississippi; "The Size of Ancient Families," E. L. Green, University of South Carolina; "Similarities Between the *Silvae* of Statius and the *Epigrams* of Martial," Donnis Martin, Winthrop College; "Rome and the Christians," H. M. Poteat, Wake Forest College.

There will be a dinner at the Greenville Woman's College Friday evening.

#### Abilene, Texas

On the evening of February 14 Professor W. J. Battle, of the University of Texas, gave an illustrated lecture as a part of a celebration of the *Bimillennium Horatianum* under the auspices of the Latin Club of ABILENE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE. In addition a group of the college students gave three short numbers in costume. A reception followed.

#### Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

At a meeting of the Latin teachers in conjunction with the convention of the STATE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, February 7, the following program was given: Solo, "O Fons Bandusiae," Miss Eula Wrany, State Teachers College, Edmond; illustrated lecture, "Rome's Destiny," Major Franklin A. O'Brien; Woodall's *A Friend of Maecenas*, by boys of the Latin department of the Classen High School. Sprays of laurel from the Palatine Hill in Rome were presented to teachers of several high schools.

#### Pacific States, Southern Section

The CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION of the PACIFIC STATES, Southern Section, held its annual meeting and luncheon, December 18, at the Women's Residence Hall, University of Southern California, Los Angeles. Gordon Wilson, teacher of Latin at Norton School for Boys, Claremont, and president of the Association, acted as host at the luncheon, and the Christmas atmosphere was evidenced in decorations and in the singing of Christmas songs in Latin.

A one-act play, *In Venusia*, was presented by a group of third-year Latin students of Manual Arts High School, Los Angeles. Professor G. S. Hubbell, University of California at Los Angeles, delivered an illuminating address on the subject "The Etymological Style."

#### Monmouth, Illinois

DR. JUSTIN LOOMIS VAN GUNDY, Professor of Latin at Monmouth College, died February 28. Born at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, June 16, 1861, Dr. Van Gundy took his A.B. degree at Bucknell University in 1887; the A.M. degree at Johns Hopkins University, 1893; and, after three years of study in German universities, the Ph.D. degree at Jena in 1905.

After spending some years in the faculties of secondary schools he became Professor of Classical Languages in Carthage College, Carthage, Illinois, in 1906, a position which he relinquished in 1914 to accept a similar position in Monmouth College.

In recent years he had devoted his time entirely to Latin studies. Only a few weeks ago he published his *Horace in Horatian Meters*, a work in which each poem is reproduced in English in the meter of its original.

#### Nashville, Tennessee

Founders Day at GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE FOR TEACHERS was this year set aside to honor with appropriate exercises the half-century of association with Peabody College just completed by Charles Edgar Little, Professor of the Teaching of Classical Languages.

The celebration covered two days. On the morning of February 18 Professor Little gave an address on the subject, "Classical Culture Marches On." At the evening gathering, which was broadcast over station WSM, the program included an address by President Payne, in which he paid his tribute to the educational services of Professor Little. At the Wednesday morning session there was an address on "St. Benedict and the Regula Monasteriorum" by Professor Paul Boesen, Dr. Nellie Angel Smith spoke on "The Place of the Classics in the Teachers College," and Dean F. C. Grise discussed "Some of America's Leading Exponents of Classical Culture." The final meeting on Wednesday evening was featured by an address on "A Roman Gentleman and his Religion" by Professor Eugene Tavenner, Editor of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL; followed by Chancellor James H. Kirkland, whose subject was "A Tribute to a Student and a Scholar."

All the participants on the program except President Payne and Chancellor Kirkland had studied under Professor Little, while Chancellor Kirkland closed with words of eulogy for one whom it had been his privilege to teach.

#### Fordham University

It is a pleasure to read the brochure recently issued by Fordham University in celebration of the *Bimillennium Horatianum*. The contents, mostly metrical translations, but with prose articles interspersed, are thoroughly enjoyable. In prose we have: "Apologia Pro Horatio," by Theodore P. Roeser; "Horatian Humor," by Robert F. Carroll; "The Philosophy of Horace," by Bernard J. Daenzer; and "The Eighth Star," by Neil T. MacCarthy. Of the metrical versions, Joseph P. Farnan has done *Integer Vitae*, "To Pyrrha," "Chloe," and "Persian Pomp"; Robert J. Fahey, *Carpe Diem*, *Oceano Dissociabili*, and *Quis Desiderio*; George E. Lynch, "Tick-Tock," "Horace Sees New York," and "Chloe"; Bertram J. McLaughlin, "To a Modern Pyrrha," and *Vides ut Alta*; Michael J. Kenny, *Solvitur Acris Hiems*; Robert J. Lane, *Aquilo*; and John F. Dunn, *In Horatium*, an original poem.

## Recent Books<sup>1</sup>

[Compiled by Russel M. Geer, Brown University.]

- AESCHYLUS, *The Agamemnon*, Translated by T. G. Tucker: Melbourne, Melbourne University Press (1935). Pp. 64. 3s. 6d.
- AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, With an English Translation by John C. Rolfe, Vol. I (Loeb Classical Library): London, William Heinemann; Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1935). Pp. 1+583.
- AMUNDSEN, LEIV, *Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection* (Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XXXIV): Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press (1935). Pp. 252. \$3.50.
- ANDERSON, PAUL L., *Swords in the North*: New York, D. Appleton-Century Co. (1935). Pp. x+270. \$2.00.
- ARISTOTLE, *Physics*, A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary by W. D. Ross: New York, Oxford University Press (1936). Pp. xii+750. \$12.00.
- ASHBY, THOMAS, *Aqueducts of Ancient Rome*, Edited by I. A. Richmond: New York, Oxford University Press (1935). Pp. xiv+342. 63s.
- BACHTIN, NICHOLAS, *Introduction to the Study of Modern Greek*: Cambridge, Eng., Deighton Bell and Co. (1935). Pp. 86. 2s.
- BARBER, G. L., *The Historian Ephorus* (Prince Consort Prize Essay, 1934): Cambridge, Eng., University Press; New York, Macmillan Co. (1935). Pp. xii+190. 7s. 6d.; \$2.50.
- BATY, CHARLES W., *Third Year Latin Reader*: New York, Oxford University Press (1935). Pp. 138. 2s.
- BELKNAP, GEORGE N., *Religion in Plato's States* (Studies in the Humanities, Vol. I, Bul. 2, Pt. 1): Eugene, University of Oregon Press (1935). Pp. 16. \$0.25.
- Bimillennium Horatianum* [Poems and Essays by Students in Fordham University]. (1936). Pp. 52.
- BLAKE, GLADYS, *The Fortunate Shipwreck*: New York, D. Appleton-Century Co. (1936). Pp. viii+256. \$2.00.
- BLOCH, GUSTAVE, and CARCOPINO, JEROME, *La République Romaine de 133 à 44 avant J. C.*; I<sup>re</sup> Partie, *Des Gracques à Sulla* (par Bloch et Carcopino); II<sup>me</sup> Partie, *César* (par Carcopino); (*Histoire Ancienne*, III<sup>me</sup> Partie; His-

<sup>1</sup> Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

- toire Romaine, Tome II): Paris, Les Presses Universitaires (1935). Pp. 489; 490-1059. 45 fr.; 60 fr.
- BOAK, ARTHUR E. R., *Soknopaion Nesos*, The University of Michigan Excavations at Dimè in 1931-32 (Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XXXIX): Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press (1935). Pp. xii+47. \$2.50.
- BRENTANO, SISTER MARY THERESA, *Relationship of the Latin Facetus Literature to the English Courtesy Poems* (Humanistic Studies, Vol. v, No. 2): Lawrence, University of Kansas (1935). Pp. 133. \$1.
- BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS, *Annual*, Session of 1932-33: London, Macmillan and Co. (1935). Pp. 270. 63s.
- CARR, WILBERT L., HADZSITS, GEORGE D., and WEDECK, HARRY E., *Living Language*, A Second Latin Book, Text Edition: Boston, D. C. Heath and Co. (1935). Pp. 188. \$0.48.
- CARY, MAX, *History of Rome Down to the Reign of Constantine*: London, Macmillan and Co. (1935). Pp. 836. 10s.
- CHAPLIN, M. A., *Latin Unseens*, With Accompanying Exercises: London, University Tutorial Press (1935). Pp. 100. 1s. 3d.
- CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS, *The Invective in Rufinum*, Edited by Harry L. Levy with Introduction and Textual Commentary; Columbia University Doctoral Dissertation: Geneva, New York, W. F. Humphrey Press Inc. (1935). Pp. 103. \$1.75.
- COBBAN, J. MACDONALD, *Senate and Provinces, 78-49 B.C.*, Some Aspects of the Foreign Policy and Provincial Relations of the Senate during the Closing Years of the Roman Republic (Thirlwall Prize Essay, 1935): Cambridge, Eng., University Press; New York, Macmillan Co. (1935). Pp. xii+218. 8s. 6d.; \$3.
- COSTER, CHARLES HENRY, *The Iudicium Quinquevirale* (Monographs of the Medieval Academy of America, No. 10): Cambridge, The Mediaeval Academy of America (1935). Pp. vii+87. \$2.25 (to members of the Academy, \$1.80).
- DEMOSTHENES, *Meidias, Androtion, Aristocrates, Timocrates, Aristogeiton I & II*, With an English Translation by J. H. Vince (Loeb Classical Library): London, William Heinemann; Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1935). Pp. vii+598. 10s.; \$2.50.
- DENOON, ERNEST I., and BAXTER, WILLIAM A., *Senior Latin Prose Composition*: Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd (1935). Pp. 322. 3s. 6d.
- DIODORUS SICULUS, With an English Translation by C. H. Oldfather, Vol. II (Loeb Classical Library): London, William Heinemann; Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1935). Pp. x+539. 10s.; \$2.50.
- DOR, LEOPOLD, *Marseille, Cité Grecque*: Marseille, Chambre de Commerce (1935). Pp. 22.
- EDELSTEIN, EMMA, *Xenophontisches und Platonisches Bild des Sokrates*; Doctoral Dissertation, Heidelberg: Berlin (1935). Pp. 153.

- ESPIÑOSA POLIT, AURELIO, *El "Edipo Rey" de Sófocles en el Colegio de Cotacollao* (Extracto de las Memorias de la Academia Ecuatoriana Correspondiente de la Española, Nueva Serie. Entrega Decimasexta): Quito, Editorial Ecuatoriana (1935). Pp. 35.
- Sófocles "Edipo Rey," En Verso Castellano* (Publicaciones de la Academia Ecuatoriana Correspondiente de la Española): Quito, Editorial Ecuatoriana (1935). Pp. 135.
- FLICKINGER, ROY C., *The Staging of Aristophanes' "Pax"* (Mélanges Offerts à M. Octave Navarre par ses Élèves et ses Amis): Toulouse, Édouard Privat (1935). Pp. 191–206.
- GAIUS, *Supplements to the Institutes*, Edited by F. de Zulueta: London and New York, Oxford University Press (1935). Pp. 12. 1s. 6d.; \$0.50.
- GODDARD, E. H., and CHAMBERS, R. L., *Orbis Terrarum*, A Senior Latin Reader: Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd (1935). Pp. 224. 3s.
- GOODFELLOW, CHARLOTTE E., *Roman Citizenship*, A Study of its Territorial and Numerical Expansion from the Earliest Times to the Death of Augustus; Doctoral Dissertation: Bryn Mawr, Bryn Mawr College (1935). Pp. 124.
- GORDON, ARTHUR E., *Epigraphica, I*. On the First Appearance of the Cognomen in Latin Inscriptions of Freedmen (Publications in Classical Archaeology, Vol. I, No. 4): Berkeley, University of California Press (1935). Pp. 9. \$0.25.
- Greek Poetry and Life*, Essays Presented to Gilbert Murray on his Seventieth Birthday, January 2, 1936: New York, Oxford University Press (1936). Pp. x+399. \$7.00.
- HEIDEL, WILLIAM A., *Hecataeus and the Egyptian Priests in Herodotus, Book II* (Memoirs, Vol. XVIII, No. 2): Boston, American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1935). Pp. 53–134. \$2.
- HERZBERG, MAX J., *Classical Myths*: Boston, Allyn and Bacon (1935). Pp. xiv+517+27. \$1.80.
- HITCHEN, E., *Aditus*, A Second Latin Reader: Exeter, Eng., A. Wheaton and Co. (1935). Pp. 104. 1s. 4d.
- HORATIUS FLACCUS, Q., *The Odes*, Translated into Verse in Horatian Meters by J. L. Van Gundy: Monmouth, Illinois, Monmouth College, Department of Classics (1936). Pp. xiv+172. \$1.25.
- HUTTON, JAMES, *The Greek Anthology in Italy to the Year 1800* (Cornell Studies in English, XXIII): Ithaca, Cornell University Press; New York, Oxford University Press (1935). Pp. xi+663. \$3.00.
- HYDE, WALTER W., *Roman Alpine Passes* (American Philosophical Society Memoirs, Vol. II): Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press (1935). Pp. xvi+248. \$3.
- JANSSENS, P., *Hoofdbegrippen uit de Platonische Dialogen Lysis en Symposium*; Doctoral Dissertation: Maastricht, Gebrs. van Aelst (1935). Pp. xii+148.
- KLEIST, JAMES A., S. J., *The Gospel of St. Mark*, Presented in Greek Thought-

- Units and Sense-Lines With a Commentary: Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Co. (1936). Pp. xxi+260. \$3.50.
- LAISTNER, M. L., *A History of the Greek World from 479 to 323 B.C.* (Methuen's *History of the Greek and Roman World*, Vol. II): London, Methuen and Co., Ltd. (1936). Pp. xv+492. Four maps. 15s.
- LIND, L. ROBERT, *What Rome Has Left Us*: Williamsport, Penn., The Bayard Press (1935). Pp. 34. \$5.00.
- LIVY, *Ab Urbe Condita*, With an English Translation by Evan T. Sage, Vol. x (Loeb Classical Library): London, William Heinemann; Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1935). Pp. xi+491. 10s.; \$2.50.
- MORTON, THOMAS S., *Easy Exercises in Latin Prose*, Arranged as a Continuous Narrative: London, Macmillan and Co. (1935). Pp. 320. 3s. 6d.
- NOYES, C. REINOLD, "Etymology of Early Legal Terminology," Reprint of Appendix I from *The Institution of Property*: New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1936). Pp. 539-582.
- O'NEILL, DANIEL J., *Latinity*, A College Textbook; A Scientific Approach to Classical Composition Through Grammar, Style, Rhetoric: Providence, R. I., Oxford Press (1935). Pp. 223. \$2.00.
- PACK, ROGER, *Studies in Libanius and Antiochene Society under Theodosius*; Doctoral Dissertation: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan (1935). Pp. xi+126.
- PARKER, HENRY M. D., *History of the Roman World from A.D. 138 to 337* (Methuen's *History of the Greek and Roman World*): London, Methuen and Co. (1935). Pp. 414. 15s.
- PATCH, HOWARD ROLLIN, *The Tradition of Boethius*, A Study of His Importance in Mediaeval Culture: New York, Oxford University Press (1935). Pp. viii+200. \$2.75.
- PROPERTIUS, SEX. AURELIUS, *The Elegies*, Done into English Verse by E. H. W. Meyerstein: New York, Oxford University Press (1935). Pp. xvi+194. \$3.
- PURDIE, ALBERT B., *Latin Verse Inscriptions*: London, Christophers (1935). Pp. 203. 4s. 6d.
- RACKHAM, HARRIS, *This Way and That*, Being Translations into, and out of, Greek and Latin Verse and Prose: Cambridge, Eng., W. Heffer and Sons (1935). Pp. 120. 6s.
- RICHTER, GISELA M. A., and MILNE, MARJORIE J., *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (1935). Pp. xxiii+32. \$1.50.
- SEEL, OTTO, *Hirtius*, Untersuchungen über die Pseudocaesarischen Bella und den Balbusbrief (Klio, Beiheft xxxv, Neue Folge, Heft 22): Leipzig, Dieterich (1935). Pp. 115. M. 6.50.
- SENECA, L. ANNAEUS, *Moral Essays*, With an English Translation by John W. Basore, Vol. III (Loeb Classical Library): London, William Heine-

- mann; Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1935). Pp. viii+532. 10s; \$2.50.
- SHOWERMAN, GRANT, *Monuments and Men of Ancient Rome*: New York, D. Appleton-Century Co. (1935). Pp. 366. \$5.
- SISTER MARY IMMACULATE, *Latin for the Six-Year-Old American Child*, An Experimental Text for Teachers: Toledo, Toledo Teachers College (1935). Pp. vii+32.
- SMERTENKO, CLARA M., and BELKNAP, GEORGE N., *Studies in Greek Religion* (Studies in the Humanities, Vol. I, Bul. 2): Eugene, University of Oregon (1935). Pp. 61. \$0.50.
- SOLOVYEV, VALDIMIR, *Plato*, Translated from the Russian by R. Gill: London, Stanley Nott (1935). Pp. 83. 6s.
- STOKOE, H. R., *Latin Verbs*, Panoramic Pictures of Conjugations, and Explanations of Forms and Their Functions: London, William Heinemann (1935). Pp. 79. 2s. 6d.
- SWEDISH CYPRUS EXPEDITION, *Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus, 1927-1931*, By Einar Gjerstad and Others, Vols. I and II: Stockholm, Swedish Cyprus Expedition (1934-35). Pp. 579, 861+xliv. \$80 the set.
- TACITUS, CORNELIUS, *The Germania*, A Critical Edition by Rodney P. Robinson (American Philological Association Monographs, No. v): Middletown, Conn., American Philological Association (1935). Pp. xiv+388.
- VINCENT, C. J., *A First Latin Reader*, New York, Oxford University Press (1936). Pp. 96. 6s.
- VLACHOS, NICHOLAS P., *Hellas and Hellenism*, A Social and Cultural History of Greece: Boston, Ginn and Co. (1935). Pp. ix+428. \$3.
- WALKER, ISRAEL, *Kynouria*, Its History in the Light of Existing Remains: Williamsport, Penn., The Bayard Press (1936). Pp. viii+66. \$1.50.
- WHITWELL, J. R., *Gleanings from Plato*: London, Gerald Duckworth and Co. (1935). Pp. 95. 3s. 6d.
- WINSPEAR, ALBAN DEWES, and GEWEKE, LENORE KRAMP, *Augustus and the Reconstruction of Roman Government and Society* (University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 24): Madison, University of Wisconsin Press (1935). Pp. 317. \$2.